[Idma]
[Ait Lhsen]

/48 cont./

The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most important sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen. Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.

The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number. But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In modern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-optation, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have remained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias, having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

/49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen

~~Like~~ the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there, to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W., symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.

To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, between which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate: the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[241] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Âbderrah'man u Messâud u Âli. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[176] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
175 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
726 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today
619 driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that
/52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto, formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather "water-holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
[132] sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Between the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
[172] the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can seek, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal rite, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

[241] Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins [619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the country, to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, for- [794] merly lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint. Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/ The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Abdella

634 101 619 Is perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the

634 175 726 619 nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennāh'." Requested by the allied Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bulᶜwān, it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible lesson still remain.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 /80 cont./

174 Then again, the system of the two moqaddem-s, one for
175 Tagunit, the other for Tamt'ddit.
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Here now are two documents from annals.

175 The first, which dates from 1799, notes a jump of the vassal.
[619] The jemâa of the Imt'ddan specifies in it its territorial limits.
After which, it affirms that /the following paragraphs, up to the
175 last paragraph of the subsection, are in small type in the original
539 source/:
619 "their affairs are distinct from those of the Idma. The Idma have a distinct orf in the matter of civil and penal responsibilities. The Idma do not have to meddle in the affairs of the Imt'ddan: they themselves have put an end to the good relations by trying to create factions among the Imt'ddan, by threatening to rule the latter, to place them under protectorship. The Imt'ddan do not want that. Henceforth they refuse to assemble with the Idma in a single thought and a single word. The matter has come to the point that if someone marries his daughter to an Idma, she will not have ç'adâq, for the woman is the bond of the devil -- God save me from her snares. May everyone among the tribes know that the Imt'ddan are distinct from the Idma, do not reckon with them, unless it is for war."

175 The name of one or of several notables from each ikhs
• 726 follows.
619 At the time a conflict had broken out between the Imt'ddan and the Idma, then governed by the family of the great amghar Lh'âjj Bujmâ or his /81/ immediate successors, who climbed up to Tagunit, without the power to reach Tamt'ddit. The resistance was organized around the chief of the Imt'ddan, Messâud Bwizgwman, who we therefore see in power, although no title is given to him in the enumeration.

This rebellion was without a tomorrow.

In the "military coalitions," amqqun, the Imt'ddan counted as a khoms with four other khoms-s, three of them as Idma and one as a. Mh'nd.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

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726 /81 cont./

But these expeditions were far from being entirely beneficial; this is the subject of the second document.

175 539 726 619 "The 9 ṣafar of the year 1303 of the Hegira, during the night from Tuesday to Wednesday, the Idma and those of Tamt'ddit left on an expedition against the a. Gâir of Tawrar. In fact the a. Gâir from above and those from Tagist had sent to tell us about it, thus traitorously involving us in this expedition. They said to us: 'When you have killed Ah'med b. Âli Lah'wach, our unity will be realized, for there is but one traitor in the tribe, it is he.'

"Thus we fell upon Ah'med and killed him. But the a. Gâir did not keep their word and attacked us by treachery. A certain number of wounded Imt'ddan took refuge in some houses. They suffered a siege by the allied tribes for three days, during which they remained deprived of food and water. Their number rose to 52: five originally from Taddert (Dwiran), one of whom died. Five from Z'init', one of whom died. Thirty-two from Tamt'ddit, 14 of whom died.

"As for the Idma, they were 11 and lost two men.

[792] "The besieged finally laid down their arms upon the intercession of the marabouts sidi Âli b. Ah'med and his brothers, who had come to the spot to restrain the enemies and to demand from them a promise of safe life for the besieged, in exchange for ransom... [incomprehensible member of phrase]. But the enemies betrayed the marabouts and paid no attention to them.

"It was the a. Gâir, the Imelwan, the Maghusa, the a. Gasa, the a. Tkssit, and the a. H'adduyws who intended to massacre us. Those of the besieged whose lives were safe were stripped of their arms, guns, and daggers, as well as of their clothes. They fled completely nude. The enemies took their arms from them. They took from them all of their effects, without thinking further of tomorrow or saying to themselves: 'We should fatally meet with these people who are our neighbors.' It was in vain that one of the marabouts told them: 'Take only their arms and they will bring you the ransom that you desire.' But the enemies had agreed upon the death of our men and only those whom God saved escaped.

[Imẽ'ddan]
[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate
539 produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content
726 to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without
619 doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which will remain forever between us.

"O people of Tamt'ddit, of Z'init', whoever will be contented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkssit, a. Gasa, a. Gẽir, Imelwan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance, we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

[195] Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclu-
[814] sions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble village scholar.

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Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

[127] 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa. They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

[Ait Gasa]

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/84/ In the second part of the fifteenth century, and probably toward the end of it, the Idma settled at Usikis (with its Agersili ground). From there, in a second stage, they advance and occupy Wanchkrir (Inraren Z'dinin ground) and Ad'erd'ur (valley of the Tazmzgart). Agersili and Wanchkrir were taken from the a. Gasa. Infiltration by purchases followed by military liquidation, or violent colonization followed by regularization?

What would suggest the first hypothesis is the very ancient date of a sale consented to concerning his part of Agersili by an a. Gasa to an Idma (document of 987 Heg.: 1568). The terminus ad quem of the facts resulting in the second hypothesis is offered by a document of 1013 Heg.: 1605. Some a. Gasa formerly occupants of Wanchkrir, "today in ait Gâir," testify on the subject of a building situated on the perimeter of this village.

At this time (beginning of the seventeenth century), the ground of the a. Gasa had shrunk to the main valley. Leaving the N. counterfort of the Tabgurt, which the conquerors held, it began toward the S. at "the boundary of Lalla Aziza," Tiktit n-Lalla Aziza, on the river, and ended beyond the present Tasseli, at Imi y-Ikis perhaps. Two large villages, Jjgit and Tannsmekht, dominate this sector. A left-affluent ravine, from Tigomma Titchekht (below Wanchkrir) and right-affluent ravines, toward the Afuzar, complete this perimeter. One finds there, at the place called Amlal n-Gâr, several centers of life: Tançmt, Rekto, in ruins today, in the localities of the present zaouia of Assttif.

[926] The conflict between a. Gasa on one hand, Idma and Imt'ddan on the other, continued in the seventeenth century. Without issue. It is from the beginning of the eighteenth century that a retreat of the a. Gasa took place, which turned into disaster and, toward the end of the century, ended in definitive liquidation. As always it is difficult to distinguish in the documents the phases of violent or contractual dispossession, each doubtlessly preparing for or completing the other.

At a date prior to 1122 Heg.: 1710, the village of Tannsmekht and its mosque were sacked. A first emigration of the a. Gasa occurs, followed by a peaceful or offensive return to

/282 cont./

/footnote 3 continued/ arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliography.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Âissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

More significant are the archeological elements revealable toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa, and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the village of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

/63 cont./ The large confederations of the Moroccan South as a matter of fact in our day still have the custom of assembling their contingents and throwing them into combat in a succession exactly determined and known to all; doubtless it was already like that at the time of Ibn Toumert. From that time on it sufficed to utilize the secret penchant of these egalitarian montagnards for ceremonial, their taste for the theatrical spectacle, to bend them to a rigorous discipline. In the heart of the Atlas, in a verdant basin of the Nefis surrounded by the wooded crests of the Wichedden, the snowy mass of the Wanoukrim, the red mountains of the Tizi n Imiri, the Tinmellel camp then saw unfold innumerable defiles of the tribes destined to fix the tradition and found the institutions of the new kingdom. The order of succession was regulated by the services rendered for the sacred cause of the Mahdi; the first who came forward were the Hargha, brothers of his father; then the Tinmellel, brothers of his mother; then came the Hintata first to assemble, the Gedmiwa; finally the Genfisa, a little lukewarm and sometimes coming into the community against their will. The place of each notable and of each fraction was noted with care on registers kept by the comrades closest to the master. Thus the control of the army of the Mahdi and the titles of nobility of those who were to become the Almohade sheiks were established at the same time.

*175 [631] [726]

During the first years, for combat and the dividing up of the booty, the "Tamyiz" was the fundamental institution of the small State of the /64/ Masmouda. A test of the solidity of that hierarchy was soon made in a striking manner. After the death of the Mahdi, kept secret for three years, when the council of Ten had accepted as leader the foreigner ʿAbd el Moumen, the tribes defiling before the new caliph in the prescribed order recognized him as their master, putting at his service an organized force that was going to enable him to bring about in twenty years the conquest of the Occident (1).

1. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 137 and sqq.

121 /140 cont./

128 The contrast of these two pictures will now permit us to
*631 understand better the successive phases of the country's transformation.

*631 In a region that was formerly similar to the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura, the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
177 at first very slow at the beginning of the nineteenth century, rushed along for two generations among the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. Formerly it had as agents kaids settled at the foot of the mountains, whose influence, often discussed, was penetrating into the Atlas through the great valleys. For fifty years it had above all been the work of autochthonous chiefs acting in the heart of the country, with a power that later became almost unlimited. One then saw clashing with assemblies of notables, expressing the will of the tribes, kaids speaking in the name of the Sultan, and acting with a force unknown up to then, through the agency of caliphates and sheiks; almost always the establishment of sherifian authority had as a consequence the rapid destruction of local traditions and customs.

*631 But it was particularly at the time of the development of Moroccan anarchy, during the first years of the twentieth century,
•[726] that the transformation imposed by the conquest was more violent. The furious wars that were waged by the three great chiefs of the Atlas on one another for the possession of the tribes accentuated still more the importance of the changes that had taken place. At the same time the domination of the great kaids hardened; soon a powerful feudal façade appeared, which masked from us the existence of independent groups and concealed from us the deep unity of the social structure of the whole /141/ country. It was
*631 then that the French policy of penetration into the South of Mo-
648 rocco, supported by the Makhzen /makhzan/, found interested auxiliaries in the person of the great kaids. This clever rally permitted them for ten years to consolidate their power further and to apply themselves to making, by energetic domination, everything that might recall the too-recent origins of their power disappear from our sight.

/168 cont./

*631 174 171 struggles and their dispersion, a particularly strong feeling of their ethnic unity (1).

1. In truth, it might be that these confederations, too, are composed of elements of diverse provenance. But an artificial bond of brotherhood, created by ceremonies of adoption or by the existence of obligations of mutual assistance, doubtless can play, among the seminomads, the same role as the feeling of community of origin.

*631 [726] Such are the Aït ʿAtta, the Aït Morghad, the Aït Haddido, the Aït Sokhman, the Izayan, who go to war in large masses and seem to push forward by successive waves from the south to the north, from the desert toward the plains of the Gharb. These [178] [666] confederations most often remain faithful to the custom of the "chikh /sheik/ fouqani," of the chief elected by the whole ensemble of the tribes of the same race. Such a unit contrasts to the utmost with the state of division of the confederations of * [634] [616] sedentary Masmouda, which we find parceled into fractions opposed to one another, even in the cadre of the tribes, by the play of territorial alliances to which is given the name of leffs (2).

[113] 2. On the solidarity of the large Arab tribes, such as the Dwi Menia, compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, Paris, 1911, p. 96.

*631 174 The state of cellular division of the Masmouda groups could thus be regarded as the end of a long evolution, the consequence of taking possession of the soil, of the appropriation of arable lands by groups formerly errant and primitively attached to the pastoral life. Such a hypothesis, whose weakness is obvious, appears to us, however, to merit being examined with interest; the

/187 cont./

*634 616 57 [574] shall see farther on, each year rekindled the enthusiasm of all the allies of the vicinity, and it was enough then to make the "tamatart" heard in order to obtain immediate help from one's allies. In more serious circumstances, one often went to seek support /188/ at a great distance by slaughtering a cow according to the traditional rite that gives a sacred character to the request thus expressed. Another means of establishing a particularly solemn "ᶜar" /oath based on conditional curse/ was the following: several men of the country would go to ask for the support of the "taqbilt" against the common enemy before the house of the moqaddem, while virgin girls who had accompanied them made their way into all the houses of the village whose alliance was solicited. It was then necessary for all the men to take up their arms immediately and come with the suppliants and girls to the place of combat. [754]

*634 616 .726 Understood thus, this idea of brotherhood of the leffs came to correct all that the narrow patriotism of the members of the same "taqbilt" had that was too exclusive. A leff then was like a kind of nation with capricious frontiers, whose borders extended to an indefinite distance, and one still saw, it is said, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, warriors of the Jbel Kik take up arms in order to go to support combats in the mountains of the Seksawa. If the spirit of solidarity of the fractions has diminished since the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/, it has nevertheless still remained very much alive: Si el Madani Glawi could still say a few years ago to explain what a leff was, "In case of war, we see arrive among us people whom we do not know and who come to get themselves killed for us" (1).

[113] 1. Justinard, "Note sur les Lefs du Sud-Ouest marocain /Note on the Lefs of the Moroccan Southwest/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter, p. 360.

[571] The leff alliance unites families and not territories. A warrior belongs to the party of the "Imsifern" or the "Indghertit,"

/188 cont./

*634 616 .726 571 not because he happened to be born in a "taqbilt" of one of the parties, but because all the families of his canton are bound to one another by a kind of fraternal bond. It is the people who enter into the leff and not their country. This distinction may seem subtle in a country where the territorial boundaries of the cantons are so well known and so little variable, and where these two notions, that of the territory and that of the human group that occupies it, are at present confused. It must be made nevertheless in order to understand how colonies of exiles sometimes keep a long fidelity to their fraction of origin and to their leff and resist assimilation for a long time. This attachment explains in particular the capricious boundaries of the "taqbilt" and of the "mouda[c]" /189/ at the foot of the Dir, in the regions where the mixture of inhabitants who have recently come down from the mountains is incessant. Each one maintains useful relations with his leff brothers, in order to be protected against his neighbors; since, moreover, the villages associate with one another in taking these alliances into account, there results at the foot of the Atlas a state of confusion of the territorial boundaries of the small social units that contrasts with the precision of the frontiers of the "taqbilt" in the high valleys.

*634 616 182 IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the leffs have a remarkable stability. Before the recent period of political transformation, during which the development of personal power so often, as we shall see, disturbed the balanced interplay of the two parties, it was almost unprecedented that a canton of the "Imsifern" ever passed over to the "Indghertit," or inversely; doubtless it happened that it might betray its associates in a dispute, but it would have been a great disgrace for it to repudiate definitively secular bonds. One will judge the strength of this feeling of fidelity to the traditional alliance and of the acts of hate that it is capable of inspiring against the enemy by the following two examples.

*634 616 726 In the Haut-Asif el Mal is found the small tribe of the Aït Tigidar, which fought for a century with surprising fury at the

/189 cont./

head of the leff of the "Imsifern" against the "Indghertit" of the taqbilt of the Ind Maghous. It is presently made up of two fractions belonging to the same party. All the old men of the country still know that at the end of the eighteenth century, in the time of the "great siba of seven years," marked by a redoubling of the war of the leffs in all the mountains, things did not go as at present. The upper fraction, whose center is the village of Assais, belonged to the "Imsifern"; the other, that of Ilemti, to the "Indghertit." One day the "Imsifern" decided to have done with their adversaries. Being united, they surrounded the zaouia of Ilemti during the twenty-seventh night of Ramadan, the holy night of "destiny," and, without flinching before the sacrilege, cut the throats of the 70 defenseless men who were found there. Then they passed on to the villages, where they entirely exterminated the male population and ruined the agadir, the collective fortress of the enemy fraction. Henceforth, rid of the "Indghertit," the "Imsifern" called for /190/ foreign families of diverse origins, repopulated the country, and annexed the territory of the vanished fraction to their leff. Since then the two fractions of this small tribe have continued to be administered separately. They both have, moreover, a democratic constitution and habitudes of internal discord that contrast with the oligarchic regime of the neighboring "taqbilt." But the village of Assais has kept political preponderance and the exclusive right "to speak" in the assemblies.

More recent events that have taken place among the Iwonsekten, in one of the independent high valleys of the Gedmiwa, are still more suggestive. This little canton of the leff of the "Indghertit" clashed with a minor kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Si Haddouch El Maghousi, established at Adasil, who made an unfortunate expedition against it about 1870. After this success, the Iwonsekten feared reprisals and intended to reinforce their "taqbilt." Scorning the rules about the solidarity of the leffs, they called on their neighbors of the canton of the Amesmatert, of the "Imsifern" alliance, threatened like themselves, in the depths of their narrow valley, by the kaids of the Ind Maghous.

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long centuries. One easily understands that this situation may have been able to contribute toward making the balanced opposition of the two leffs disappear here.

By their traditional policy, the Arab or Arabized tribes of the interior plain of the Sous, Howara, Menabha, and Oulad Yahya, do not enter into the interaction of the mountain leffs. They thus form a kind of screen that isolates the Atlas of the Masmouda from the Anti-Atlas of the Igezzoulen. On the contrary, at the extremity of the Sous plain, the alliances of fractions gain by degrees the massif of the Sirwa and reach as far as the Dra, the Warzazat, and the Dadès (1).

1. The leffs of the Dades and of the upper Dra, Oulad el Mahalli and Beni Zouli, have nearly the same aspect as those of the Masmouda (De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 288-289).

The Arab tribes of the edge of the desert, in the middle course of the Dra, also rally there, but in larger masses, and their inconstancy makes them unreliable auxiliaries. On the contrary, on [126] the south versant of the Atlas, less than ten years ago, for example in the tribe of the Souktana, since conquered by the Glawa, the violence of the leff combats was still so great that 120 warriors of the leff of the "Igezzoulen" surrounded in the agadir of Ighri and forced by thirst to surrender to their hereditary enemies, the "Isouktan," were slaughtered by their adversaries like sheep.

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/195/ VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and those of the Anti-Atlas. -- It is by way of this region of the Zagmouzen and the Souktana that the liaison of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ with those of the Anti-Atlas seems to be made. But in this country it is no longer possible to reconstitute, even at the cost of patient historical investigations, a satisfactory picture of correspondence among the various local alliances so as to find, as we did elsewhere, two opposed parties under various

/195 cont./

616 names. In the Onein one indeed observes the struggle of the "Aït
174 Ikhlef" and the "Aït Qodni," still tied to the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and "Aït Zolit." But among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa we find three groups of two leffs: the "Aït Atman," enemies of the "Aït Tintlet" in the Tifnout; the "Inemzel" opposed to the "Aït Iraten" to the east of the Sirwa; more to the South and toward the limit of the desert, the "Igezzoulen," hereditary adversaries of the "Isouktan." The natives here still indeed believe in the unity of two great alliances, but in comparing their information collected in the various cantons, we find irreducible contradictions.

It may be that this break in the patchwork of the two primitive leffs is not unrelated to the disturbing activity carried out because of the rivalries of minor chiefs anciently subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and whose casbahs are found on the route of passage that joins Taroudant to the col of the Glawa in passing by way of the Ihouziyoun, the Zagmouzen, Tazenakht, and the Haut-Dra (1).

1. We shall see farther on (Book III, Ch. I and II) how the policy of the amghars rapidly resulted in the dissociation of the leffs.

One can also believe that, in this region of transition, liaison is not perfectly established between the leffs of the Haut-Atlas and those of the Anti-Atlas, because the struggle of the "Igezzoulen" and their "Isouktan" or "Aoggwa" adversaries does not assume the same form as that of the two leagues of the Masmouda. However
616 that may be, the weakening of the institution is not such that, in
.726 the attempt to conquer the Souktana by Si Tayeb Gontafi in 1902, this chief did not remember the alliance of the "Aït Iraten," his native leff, with that of the "Igezzoulen" and did not succeed in protecting his leff brothers in the Anti-Atlas. The policy of the Glawa in the north of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa was able just as cleverly to take advantage of the ancient traditions that bound their leff, that of the "Aït Fademt" of the north versant of the Atlas, to the "Inemzel" of the Saharan versant.

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to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts of social life executed by following an anciently established custom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the accomplishment of any important action. In the internal struggles of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

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/footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen, and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan" to indicate the leff.

In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The importance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was constant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, besides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

*634 184 578 361 /231 cont./ of the "taqbilt," itself gives evidence of the constant anarchy by its external aspect; the scattered and isolated houses give it the appearance of a little corner of the Rif.

*634 616 701 726 VIII. The internal and external wars. -- During the fights that the cantons of the two leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ wage against one another, the small Berbère /Berber/ states do not designate any military leaders. The moqaddem acts as one. Each "taqbilt" fights in dispersed order, in the inextricable confusion that results from the entanglement of the two alliances. Even in the most serious circumstances, when the independence of the high mountains is threatened by the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or the neighboring kaids, the state of division of the country does not generally allow designating a single leader in this region. The Ida Ou Tanan themselves, whose constitution [648] is so strong and so respected, summoned by Moulay el Hasan in 1888 to show their submission by the sending of presents, knew very well how to come to an arrangement, in spite of the efforts of their notables or their amghars, to refuse that homage to the sovereign; but the mass of the warriors who had decided to reject the authority of the Makhzen could oppose to the Sultan's harkas only efforts that were poorly contrived and dedicated in advance to failure. In the same way, at the time of the conquest of the Aghbar by the kaids of Tagontaft, the four fractions of the high valley, habitually divided, united for an instant and imposed silence on the leff disputes that put them in opposition; but no leader appeared capable of directing a resistance, which was nevertheless heroic and obstinate (1).

1. Cf. Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 231; Hespéris, 1927, p. 24.

*634 701 726 /232/ In the cantons remaining faithful to the regime of assemblies and moqaddems, it seems that the greatest perils cannot give rise to a man of war capable of saving them from danger. So, most often, the independent tribes close themselves up in a

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*634 648 passive resistance and only try to avoid any direct relation with the representatives of the central power. On their side, the kaids [651 431] generally content themselves with claiming the traditional she-mule each year, the sending of which is equivalent to theoretical recognition of their power, and fear to venture in force into the region of the summits (1).

1. The "taqbilt" of the right tributaries of the Asif Nefis were still designated up to the middle of the nineteenth century in the fractioning of the Makhzen by the name of "Aserdoun," or he-mule, because their contribution was limited to a he-mule offered to the kaid as hédia /gift/ on the occasion of the great festivals.

*634 578 •726 628 Most often the gravest peril that threatens the life of the small independent republics of the Haut-Atlas and the Anti-Atlas is not conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/, but internal discord and the development of private wars that have as a consequence the formation of soffs. Of all the montagnards, the Seksawa are the ones most inclined to discord. "They have," it is said, "in their hearts what is in the heart of the jackal, they dream only of devouring each other" (2).

2. F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

Nevertheless private war does not attain in this region the importance that it assumes in the Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. When it is prolonged, the defeated village sometimes disappears and leaves no more than a heap of ruins; but, on the whole, the social life is not altered and internal anarchy is not seen to develop as in the north of Morocco. Apparently the causes of discord are often

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*634 578 726 628 [571] most trifling: a discussion turns sour, one passes on to insults, then to blows. The people of the village take sides, shots burst forth, and each one goes back into his house to prepare for war. But, before opening hostilities, the principal notables hasten to form, thanks to family alliances or a price in money, a powerful party capable of assuring them success. The two soffs fight sometimes for weeks, until an arrangement, which often takes into account the unequal number of victims on each side and the blood price claimed by the families, intervenes to re-establish peace.

/233/ Alliance pacts established by means of the exchange of clothes or "belgha" are not in use among the sedentary peoples of the South of Morocco. They are satisfied to look for allies by making them an "ʿar" /putting them in the relationship of protector/ by means of a sacrifice offered on the threshold of their house.

[571] [782]

*634 578 571 726 628 The causes, insignificant in appearance, of the war of the soffs most often mask the rivalries of the notables who fight over power. The quarrel of the villages is for them only a pretext for measuring their strength. Nevertheless, since this struggle imperils the unity and the strength of the State, the other heads of families often intervene as mediators, in order, they say, that the tribe will not be weakened (1).

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Todgha, p. 149.

*634 578 726 628 [171] In the Haut-Atlas, as well as in Kabylie /Kabylia/ (2), the surest means of restoring order in a canton divided against itself is to revive ancient hatreds against the neighboring republics and to find again an occasion to appeal to the brotherhood of the leffs. Here again the causes of the war are trifling: insults

2. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 64.

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
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/footnote 1 continued/ to the collective storehouses of the Sous, actually says:

"To the West of Tizi n Glaoui and the Draa another method prevails, in force in the western portion of the Atlas and of the Sahara from the Draa wadi to the ocean: that of the Agadirs. There, it is no longer the village that brings together its grain in one or several châteaux, it is the tribe that stores its harvests in one or several villages. These villages bear the name of Agadir. Toward Tazenakht, I shall see them along my route replacing the tirremts." (Reconnaissance, p. 62.) This confusion between the village and the storehouse and this error about the role of the agadir are explained by the difficult conditions under which Ch. de Foucauld was traveling and by the choice of his itinerary, along which the very visible agadirs are rare.

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But if the area in which one can today find collective storehouses still utilized by the Berbères /Berbers/ is much reduced in the Sous, it is easy to see that it was formerly much more extensive.

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In all the western Atlas, between the Tizi n Telwet and the Tizi Maᶜcho, there exists as a matter of fact as far as the foot of the Dirs a very large number of ruins of constructions on the peaks that neighbor the hamlets and villages and whose aspect leaves no doubt whatever as to their past use. It is rare that the inhabitants still remember having seen these storehouses intact, but in the valleys of the Nefis, the Anougal, the Asif el Mal, the Asif n Qahira, they are still given the name of agadir.

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In all the territory of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, it suffices to question the young people themselves in order for them to show you the remains of all the "ighrem" or agadirs that the conquering Glawa destroyed in 1913.

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343 712 *634 •726 [631] As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute natural centers of resistance against the domination of the great chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Aït Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

[175] *[631] It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nineteenth century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still represented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

[539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead, it has been described to us,
He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

343 712 178 726 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact, the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of hamlets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

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343 penetrating into the territory of the small republics of the sum-
712 mits profited by every occasion to make them disappear. One
178 of them was declaring to us with satisfaction that he had had the
726 luck to ruin 12 in seven years of command (1).

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1. It is interesting to point out that the general decline of the institution was interrupted in the middle of the century in certain regions. The "siba" /revolt/ that marked the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman in 1859 had consequences so disastrous for all the tribes established between Imi n Tanout and Amismiz, following incursions of plundering Arabs from the plain, that certain villages surrounded themselves with ramparts and rapidly built fortified enclosures, in the middle of which they hollowed out silos.

These small fortresses were besides most often inhabited by minor chiefs who emerged amidst the siba struggles and took responsibility themselves to ensure the defense of the common property. They were entirely different in nature and arrangement from the small agadirs of hamlets, whose ruins still exist.

Again it is necessary to distinguish from the collective storehouses of the fractions or villages other agadirs constructed by the Makhzen /makhzan/, at Amismiz, for example, and in which the tribes came to pay the "ᶜachour" /Koranic tax/. By a natural extension, the same name of agadir designates at present all the casbahs built by order of the sultans or by the chiefs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

343 But the political state of the country is not alone in entailing
712 the disappearance of the collective storehouses; it indeed seems
178 that economic causes, or perhaps simply the weakening of a long

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178 enough, for one who knows how to see, to show the violence with which the two forms of political organization oppose each other.

178 712 At the entrance to a high valley, at Assarag of the Tifnout, it is a caliphate's casbah, imposing because of its mass and its crenelated towers, that bars one of the routes of the Atlas and gives the traveler the illusion of a former dwelling of the masters of the country. But the walls that support the borjs /towers/ crowned with merlons were still sheltering a collective storehouse of the canton ten years ago. The conquerors came, took possession of the agadir and its provisions; then the tribe assembled by their pains constructed an enceinte around, raised towers and whitened the walls, laid out chambers and rooms; in a few months a true feudal casbah thus appeared on the foundation of a canton fortress. A few passing years, moreover, have sufficed to split the earthen ramparts and to give the patina of time to this proud house.

178 361 *[631] At other times the transformation of the villages is spontaneous and the contrast is still more striking. There exist around the summits of the Sirwa small egalitarian republics that, in the solitude of the plateau, remain obstinately attached to their dream of old. One would search in vain, for example, in the [342] village of Amassin of the Ikhozzamen, for some feature that distinguishes the dwelling of the rich from that of the poor. Above [712] the 200 houses, whose line stretches out indefinitely and suggests the idea of a gigantic rabbit hutch, rises a handsome collective fortress, where a famous customary is carefully preserved, while the little senate, the "Aït ed-diwan," meeting in the enceinte, deliberates at length in order to regulate the common life.

178 361 343 712 [726] But if one leaves the high plateau to gain, some hours' march southward, the valley of the Aït Atman, a surprising spectacle awaits us. In former times the agadir of Tinider, one of the most perfect and most celebrated storehouses because of its interior arrangement and its law, dominated a village similar to that of Amassin. Twenty years ago, during a glorious siege, the Aït Atman resisted in this large storehouse the assembled warriors of ten /265/ cantons and none had been able to reduce

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178 361 343 712 [726] them. When the Glawa came, the sheik that they had chosen in the country received the order to make the old fortress, whose ruined walls are still visible today, disappear by pickax blows. Then, very quickly, the aspect of the village became unrecognizable. Amidst the houses, all alike, of the inhabitants of this old egalitarian republic, rise at present the dwellings of notables, adorned with corner towers and decorated in the Berbère /Berber/ manner with geometrical designs in whitewash. The new sheik of the Makhzen /makhzan/ gradually raised its walls higher, added borjs, crenelated the summits of the towers, and gave a more "feudal" appearance to his modest dwelling of former times. His young son, a handsome young man, having become the favorite of the master of Telwet, has inherited henceforth the paternal authority. Mounted on a handsome black horse, it is he who comes, with perfect ease, to welcome the guests. He dreams of a high position in the Makhzen /makhzan/, and while the "imzwarn," the notables of the village, formerly all-powerful, come together humbly around him to receive his orders, the walls are going up for a beautiful casbah that his father intends for him and that the whole canton is building by "touiza."
When a person is acquainted with the past of this valley, he thinks he is dreaming upon embracing within a few hundred meters, with a single glance, first the ruins of the agadir of old, then the sheik's casbah proudly planted at the edge of the village, with its white borjs, as well as the new houses of the notables, his relatives, finally the large dwelling built like that of a great chief, which next year will house the minor amghar. Its proud towers, which the inhabitants of the country, assembled by order, are finishing before us, will dominate the remains of a democratic village that the children themselves remember.
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*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ᶜayân," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master [681] of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a [651] third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ [794] republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the [735] poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was [465] granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

*634 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these com-
661 bats the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
[616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
175 first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Sek-
*634 sawa in the middle of the last century. Hammo Ou Bella of the
578 canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
661 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
726 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had suc-
ceeded in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
[616] In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ʿAli
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the war-
riors of the defeated fractions.

175 Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
*634 the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
613 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
682 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
578 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
/274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

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121 who appeared about 1860, that of a minor amghar of the Seksawa,
*634 El Hajj Hafid of the canton of the Idma, grown great at the time
128 of the rivalry of the kaids of the Mtougga and of the Nefis at the beginning of the present century, finally, the spectacle of the rivalries of the amghars of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg for 80 years will make us understand better what help the opposition of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs brings to the ambitious.

175 IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860).
*634 -- At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the country
616 of the Nefis was still placed under the distant authority of the kaids of Agergour, of the tribe of the /276/ Ouzgita of the Jbel Kik, the villages that rise in the mountains on both sides of the valley belonged, according to the cantons, to the two leffs of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." From the Aghbar to the entrance of the wadi into the plain, these cantons of the two parties alternated regularly, and nowhere did the "checkerboard" of Berbère /Berber/ rivalries achieve so perfect an equilibrium between the two alliances. Each group obeyed a minor amghar who held power both from the Makhzen /makhzan/ and from the notables, and succeeded in establishing a just balance between the opposite tendencies of the two forms of government.

175 About 1850 the war between the two leffs, the "Aït Atman"
*634 and the "Aït Iraten," became extremely violent between Tinmel
616 and Agergour, and the minor chief of the canton of Toug el Khir
726 won out over his enemy of the Targa n Aït Iraten, who perished in the combat. The defeated "Aït Iraten" of Targa and of the Asif Amezghouni then called on their leff brothers from the cantons of ʿAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, who came in large numbers, under the command of their amghars, to help them in the name of the ancient bonds.

175 One of these amghars, El Hajj Ahmed n Aït Lhasen, descend-
159 ant of a taleb of the Anti-Atlas, who had formerly come into the
*634 valley of the Nefis in the capacity of village fqih /faqih/, was commanding the group of the four small hamlets of Gokten, Wigit, Isqalen, Artatein, to which one gives the name of Tagontaft. El Hajj Ahmed, who was both a respected fqih /faqih/ and

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175 amghar, taught the religious sciences to many pupils; he shared,
159 according to custom, the profits of power with the "Aït Arbaᶜin"
*634 of his "moudaᶜ." He was a simple man without ambition, who was not impelled by anything to leave the path traced out by the double tradition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ government.

His son Mohammed, who was then about thirty years old, was endowed with both great courage and a surprising spirit of enterprise. Both greedy and generous, noble and sly, he was also a redoubtable adversary in combat, where he rushed on the enemy, recognizable by his tall stature and his black beard. His physical strength was unusual, and the sight of him engendered in the minds of his adversaries an inexpressible terror, which was sometimes attributed to a kind of magical power.

After a disagreement with his father, Mohammed went /277/ to Agergour on the Jbel Kik, to the kaid El Hajj Ahmed of the Ouzgita, and succeeded in obtaining for himself the command of the four small hamlets of Tagontaft. He began immediately to build himself a veritable amghar's house at Wigit, cutting widely into the beautiful olive-trees that adorn the slopes of the hills. As his father was reproaching him then for destroying the crops and trees in a country where productive land is rare and precious, Mohammed replied that "other crops and trees existed in the Asif Nefis, among his leff enemies, the "Aït Atman."

175 Later the rapid conquests of the amghar Mohammed appeared
159 so surprising that the natives sometimes spread the rumor that the
*634 family of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, Mohammed or his father the fqih,
616 had discovered a silver mine by secret proceedings, which they
•726 took up from their ancestors from the Sous, clever, as is known, at discovering hidden treasures. But all those who lived through the little epic of the Tagontaft chiefs know very well that at the beginning the amghar Mohammed had only the strength of his "ikhs" and "no mine other than the tribe." Indeed, we see the amghar Mohammed, hardly in possession of the power, begin by conquering the nearby village of Tamerwout, which formed a kind of islet of "Aït Atman" in the leff of the "Aït Iraten"; then,

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175 after absorbing this hostile group, engage resolutely in the fight
159 against the neighboring chiefs of the adverse leff. These were
*634 the amghars of Tagemout, Tagadirt n Oumious, Timlilt, and
616 Arghen, between Tagontaft and Tinmel. The forces of the young
•726 amghar of Tagontaft were made up of all the warriors of his canton, completely devoted to his person, and of those of the fractions of his leff: ᶜAlla and the Asif Amezghouni.

As soon as his first successes enabled him to increase his resources, the amghar Mohammed engaged a band of mercenaries made up of adventurers from all directions: from the Chtouka, from the Inda ou Zal, and from the Marrakech plain. Holding the whole mountain, he then communicated with his allies of ᶜAlla by a goat path from the Adrar n Tasaft. From the heights of ᶜAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert incessant expeditions descended by his order against the villages of the Nefis. Soon, thanks to his provocations, war was kindled between the two leffs in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the Jbel Kik. Finally, the intervention of the kaid of Agergour became necessary in order /278/ to restore order, and Si Brahim, brother and successor of the kaid Ahmed, who had left on the pilgrimage to Mekke /Mecca/, where he was to die, summoned into his casbah the young amghar of Tagontaft, who prudently refused to present himself. Then Mohammed decided to pursue in independence the conquest of the high valleys that had formerly formed the first kingdom of the Almohades.

For ten years he continued to disturb the mountains by the struggle of the leffs, to increase his forces patiently, and to prepare himself by the organization of his conquests to surmount the difficult stage that was to make a tribal chief of him (1).

1. Cf. farther on, p. 395.

175 V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). --
159 At the end of the last century, the cantons of the mountain
*634 Seksawa, like all those of the Tichka region, were still firmly attached to the traditional regime of the moqaddems; only the

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175 neighboring "taqbilt" of the Dir had amghars, Ahmed Ou Bihi
159 among the Aït ʿAbdallah, Mbarek Chtittihi among the Aït Mousa.
*634 Not long after the time when Si Mokhtar, son of the moqaddem Hammo ou Bella, had taken power among the Aït Lhasen, after having cleverly suppressed his enemies, as we have said, the son of a moqaddem of the Idma, Hafid Ou Mohammed n Anino, also obtained from the Aït Arbaʿin of his fraction, thanks to his adroitness, his prestige, and his victories over the nearby fraction of
[578] the Intedan, the title of amghar (1898). As is natural, he had to
[682] wage a long struggle against his rivals in his own village, then he killed them and took their property.

175 Favorable circumstances then presented themselves to the
159 new chief of the Idma, who knew how to utilize them fully.
*631 About 1905 the struggle of the two great kaids Mtouggi and
*634 Gontafi for influence was at its height; they were contending for
616 the rich tribes of the Dir and soon the whole mountain was caught
•726 up in their intrigues. Si Mokhtar of the Aït Lhasen, of the leff of the "Imsifern," already highly organized in his command, espoused, not without some reticence, the cause of the Mtouggi; the two amghars Ahmed Ou Bihi and Mbarek Chtittihi, neighbors from the foot of the mountain, of the leff of the "Indghertit," wavered about the side to take, while the amghar Hafid of the Idma rallied without hestitation to the Gontafi. After a confused struggle, during which Si Mokhtar had /map appears here/ /279/ the Chtittihi assassinated and defeated the fraction of the Aït ʿAbdallah upon driving away Ahmed Ou Bihi, the amghar of the Idma became sole chief of the leff of the "Indghertit." In the mountains, the struggle of the two great kaids was being carried on by utilizing the rivalry of the two Berbère /Berber/ alliances. Si Mokhtar was the champion of Bouaboud with the "Imsifern" to the extent that his personal interest commanded it. For his part, Hafid easily assembled the forces of the "Indghertit." It was to him that the amghars of the Aït Gaïr and all the high-mountain fractions of the Seksawa came to ask for counsel and support. For twenty years the old amghar of the Idma could profit from the advantages of this role of leff chief; without losing any of his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 371]

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175 159 *631 *634 616 .726 independence with respect to the great kaid of the Nefis, he kept intact a readily accepted authority, whose whole secret was in the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances (1).

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

VI. The amghars of the Ida Ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- It 175 is under conditions analogous to the ones that favored the amghar *634 Hafid of the Idmą that two families of amghars have kept power without difficulty on the south versant of the Atlas for several [616] generations. Although these minor sheiks -- the Aït Bazzi of Talekjont and the Id Mansour of Talemt -- had seen their liberty restrained by the close surveillance exercised over them by the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, it is easy to see that all their power was held, like that of their rivals in the high mountains, in their role as leff chiefs.

The political circumstances under which the amghars of Talekjont and Talemt exercised their commands were particularly stable during the nineteenth century. Up to the time of the conquest of the country by the great kaids, on all the south versant of the Atlas, from the Onein to the Ida Ou Zal, the organization of the tribes did not change. The regime of the little Berbère /Berber/ cantons varied according to their distance from the valley of [184] the Sous, subject to the caliphate of the sultan at Taroudant. In the high mountains they were small republics, directed by an assembly presided over by a moqaddem, among the Aït Waggonsan, the Tigouga, the Ida Ou Msattog, or by a simple council of inflas without a moqaddem at Adebdi, among the Aït Soual, the Ihengirn; on the slopes were found minuscule cantons governed by a senate of /280/ three or four notables; finally, large market towns subject to amghars in touch with the Makhzen /makhzan/ existed at the very edge of the plain. Among these diverse terri- [616] torial units, the bond between two leffs, the "Ida ou Zeddagh" (1)

[619] 1. The name Ida ou Zeddagh designates both a tribe and a leff of this tribe and the neighboring regions.

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175 and the "Aït Zolit," was strong enough for the authority of the
*634 minor chiefs to extend, by a chain of alliances, from their
616 casbah near the Sous to the highest villages of the crests.

175 Originally, about 1850, the amghar ʿAli n Aït Bazzi and
159 his rival, Ahmed Ou Mansour, were only minor sheiks similar to
*634 those who existed, as we have seen, in the same period in the
616 high valley of the Nefis, intent on satisfying both the Makhzen
726 /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ tradition. When El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, great kaid of the Haha, had entrusted to his caliphate, the sherif Moulay Idris, the command of Taroudant, the latter interested himself in establishing closer relations with the two amghars in the hope of bringing little by little the montagnards of their respective leffs to the Makhzen. But the opposition of the two alliances ceaselessly fighting was such that he soon had to give it up; in his powerlessness, he is reported to have said one day, designating the two white houses of the enemy sheiks, so near each other and yet irreducibly hostile:

[539] "Satan -- father of discord -- laid two eggs at the foot of the Atlas. Upon breaking them, I found in the first ʿAli Ou Mansour. As for the second, that of the Bazzi, there was nothing inside but wind!"

ʿAli Ou Mansour had, indeed, brought his leff to the chief of the Makhzen /makhzan/, while ʿAli of Talekjont later fled into the mountains and took the side of the Mtougga against the Haha. But neither the one nor the other was able to bring to the caliphate of the sultan the submission of his tribes, because they were powerless to make the two leffs live in peace. Their authority was based only on the rivalry of the alliances, and they could keep it only by fanning the quarrels. Afterward, the Aït Bazzi supported the "siba" against the Makhzen, the pasha of Taroudant against the Gontafi, while their adversaries -- the sons of ʿAli Ou Mansour -- constantly stayed on the opposite side, that of the Haha, that of the Makhzen of Taroudant with Haida Ou Mwis, that of the Gontafi against Haida.

/281/ Two families have thus kept their positions, with alternate successes and reverses; in the eyes of the montagnards of their leff, their prestige has survived all their defeats.

*634 /283 cont./
697 for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taq-
671 bilt," in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile, and a fire.

*634 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the
616 regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they re-
182 main mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

*634 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the
616 reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the
726 establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated, and in the course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870, the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the leff of the "Aït Atman" killed by having their throats cut, when they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy, the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than 100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been reduced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

During this period of political evolution the spirit of solidarity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the "taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction
[682] of the Aït Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chtittihi,
[628] chief of the Aït Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid the money.

[178] Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

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*634 616 .726 178 augmented by pillage, he tries to sow division within the enemy leff; thus in the reign of Moulay el Hasan, the minor chiefs of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, who were fighting among themselves with the fury that we have mentioned, before the conquest of the Gontafi, had with them warriors called by virtue of the bonds of alliance, who received no wage and stayed in place as long as peace was not concluded; but at the same time there were already appearing around the amghars hired combatants who made war "by the day" and went home as soon as the service asked for had been rendered; these mercenaries came from fractions of the adverse leff that were not directly engaged in battle.

Another still clearer example of the decline of the leffs can be found in the quarrels of the amghars of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa before the conquest of the Glawa, in the time of Moulay el Hasan. While the fractions of the summits and those of the high valleys of the Tifnout and of the Tidili were still keeping their assemblies of /285/ notables, several independent amghars had been seen to develop in the Zagmouzen and the Azilal. Among them the Id Mhammed of Tamjerjt and the Aït Ammo of Takharbant had then undertaken to divide with each other, arms in hand, the valley of the Tifnout. To the disinherited inhabitants of the plateau, this region indeed looked like a valley of abundance, peopled with rich tributaries. Each of the two chiefs soon seized the cantons nearest his village, without paying close attention to the leffs of origin. But difficulties were not long in appearing. [651] Indeed, when it was a matter of levying taxes on these lands of conquest, discords broke out between the amghars on the subject of some contested households. Each then called on his allies, and one then saw a strange confusion occur in the disputed lands. The household heads subject to an amghar paid him tribute regularly as long as war had not broken out; but, from the first shots on, they took up arms against their master of the day before, in the name of the traditional alliances. The ancient leffs could not long resist these overturnings; associations of cantons and of families were formed, which no longer heeded the ancient rules of composition of the leff. To these alliances the Aït Waouzgit *634 616

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*634 616 sometimes give the characteristic name of "amqon n mokoheit" -- which can be translated by "leff of combat" (1).

1. Literally: "leff of gun."

[178] In reality they are no more than parties that refer to a chief and no longer to a venerable tradition of mutual aid for war and peace as in former times.

*634 616 178 In spite of these disturbances, at this period in the political transformation of the country the decline of the leffs did not become irremediable. The amghars, whatever their ambitions, their rivalries in the various tribes of the vicinity, or their new interests might be, still remain closely attached to their cantons of origin, whose friendships and alliances are wedded to a long political past. The slow dissociation of the bonds of alliance that we observe still cannot produce changes comparable to the ones that will be introduced later by the intervention of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids from the mountains, such as the Mtouggi or the Gontafi, capable of suddenly reversing the correspondence of the leffs in entire tribes, thanks to the power of money and to the /286/ interested complicity of the amghars whose protectors they become.

*634 IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- Before leaving this region of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in which so large a number of independent amghars have appeared since the middle of the last century, it is desirable to point out a circumstance that made the formation of their power possible: the remoteness of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the freedom of action that the mountains can offer to the efforts of an ambitious man when the tribes inhabiting them still escape the authority of the Sultan's kaids. Two different examples are going to show us how this freedom is necessary during the first years of the fortune of the minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

175 *634 726 In 1865, at the time when the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft finished conquering the cantons hostile to his leff in the high valley of the Nefis, in that part of the country that was

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175 *634 -726 removed from the influence of the kaid of Agergour by remoteness and the difficulty of the mountain roads, a notable from the northern Dir of the Atlas, established at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, had also tried to seize power. The death of the sultan Moulay [648] [712] ᶜAbd er-Rahman had been the signal for a siba /revolt/ of five years, which had devastated the whole plain; the little cities of the Dir had been constrained to build ramparts and agadirs in haste in order to shelter families, flocks, and harvests from the attacks of the Arab tribes. By means of these wars the newly enriched son of a fellah, Mohammed Ou ben ᶜAli, had distinguished himself. For a long time already, at the head of his "ikhs," he had succeeded in imposing himself upon each of the minor sheiks whose council ensured the government of the hamlets of the olive grove of Tisgin. Soon, in an agadir built out of his solicitude to harbor the provisions of the inhabitants in case of danger, he had constructed a solid house decorated with a monumental door, still visible in our day amidst the ruins. In order to make security prevail in the plain and to realize his ambitious projects, Ou ben ᶜAli, in imitation of the chief of Tagontaft, then gathered around him a small troop of mercenaries, and his name began to be known at a great distance and his protection respected.

175 *634 648 The pasha of the casbah of Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Brahim el Grawi, governor of the tribes of the Dir -- the same one who was to let the amghar of Tagontaft grow important for want of power to stop him -- began to be disturbed about the doings of Ou ben ᶜAli and then named to the command /287/ of Tisgin a minor kaid, Bou Houch, whose mission was to stop the progress of that overly active amghar. Certain of being assassinated in short order, Ou ben ᶜAli made the first move; he surprised the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in his house and killed him. From then on, in open struggle with the pasha of the casbah, the amghar had to flee into the mountains, into the cantons of his leff, that of the "Imsifem." The struggle was brief. Whatever the amaghar's prestige and courage were, he could not hope to rally around him the population of the villages of the Dir, whose defenseless olive

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*634 [616] actively than elsewhere in order to produce the conflicts necessary for the development of his power. Hence a more apparent characteristic of violence even in the exercise of his power.

Also when the amghar disappears, victim of a rival's hate -- rarely from vengeance, for the worst abuses are endured with a surprising passivity -- his work perishes with him. When [178] Akherraz fell under the ax of the slave of a sheik of the Ida Ou Ziki 30 years ago, the republican regime was resuscitated at once, the "imzran" reappeared, and the annual circuit of justice was carried out anew with the customary ceremonial, faithfully preserved in all memories.

At other times, upon the chief's death, it happens that his sons lack authority; they are then deposed very simply, and they come /291/ to take only a modest place in the council of the Aït arbaʿin re-established with all its attributions. These sudden changes express the reaction of the masses quite well. Weary of • [726] the dictatorship, which re-established internal order, but used up the country's forces in combats waged outside, the tribe rests for a time in anarchy, and soon the war of the soffs succeeds that of the cantons.

Nevertheless, it is not unparalleled that a compromise is established between the two opposed regimes and that the chief succeeds, thanks to his cleverness, in transmitting to his son a recognized and accepted authority. The Aït Oumghar of Tassedremt, among the Ifesfasen, thus succeeded in keeping power for three generations. They content themselves, it is true, [642] with collecting a third of the fines and presiding over the meeting of the notables; the annual circuit of justice begins and ends in their house; it seems, however, that the equilibrium thus established between the chief and the tribe is not durable and that the balance leans slowly but surely toward an oligarchic regime through the increase in the power of the most influential notables.

*634 642 The amghars of the Aït Tinkert, on the contrary, kept most of the prerogatives of despotic power. Doubtless they respect some of the ancient forms of the Berbère /Berber/ government; there still exists in each of the ten afous of their command a

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*634 "tinoubga" and make known to all his strength and generosity; if
616 he happens to start fighting with a powerful amghar of the ad-
554 verse leff, he sees Berbères /Berbers/ who have come from fara-
571 way tribes that he scarcely knows arrive at the door of his house. In the name of the traditional alliances they come spontaneously to bring him their co-operation. Nevertheless, his power is not really established. Still closely attached to the traditions of the republics of the high valleys by the leff bond, he must be careful of his allies, who would abandon him at the first defeat and especially at the first "frida." As long as he has not conquered and made his own the lands of his enemies, his authority will remain precarious and his resources will be reduced to the daily booty of his military expeditions.

175 /301/ I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis
159 (1860-1876). -- To understand clearly the circumstances in which
*634 the fraction amghar can manage to consolidate and extend his authority, there is no better example to consider than that of Mohammed n Alt Lhasen of Tagontaft, whose progress follows with perfect regularity the successive stages of the power of a Berbère /Berber/ chief.

175 We left this minor amghar at the time when in his minuscule
159 domain of the Haut-Nefis he had taken command of the leff of
*634 the "Alt Iraten" in order to conquer the "Alt Atman" of the val-
616 ley, at the time when he had just asserted his independence with
•726 respect to the kaid of the Ouzgita of Agergour on the Jbel Kik (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 367.

[648] He is now going to conquer the tribe of the Nefis, and we shall see him later, aided by his son, succeed in constituting, under the aegis of the Makhzen /makhzán/, one of the large commands of the Atlas.

By his former origins, the kaid of Agergour, whose authority Mohammed n Alt Lhasen was rejecting, belonged to the leff of the "Alt Atman"; the call to revolt issued by the amghar of Tagontaft was therefore certainly to rally all the cantons of the big valley hostile to the Kaid's leff.

/301 cont./

175 big valley hostile to the kaid's leff. In order to make the "Aït
159 Iraten" return to obedience, the kaid Brahim Gergouri made the
*634 usual arrangements in such a case: he solicited and obtained
616 from the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech the authorization to
•726 assemble a "harka" with the co-operation of the old kaid ᶜOmar
648 Touzzalti, governor of the Gedmiwa.
*631 The column constituted by the combatants of the Ouzgita, the Gedmiwa, and by the leff of the "Aït Atman" from the lower course of the Nefis became entangled in the narrow passage that leads to the Tizi n Test by a bad path often confused with the bottom of the river itself. After a stop at Imegdal, where the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ finished assembling and set up a camp whose traces are still visible, the harka went back up the course of the Oued and arrived in the basin of Tinmel, where the amghar Mohammed had already been established for some years. General pillage of the valley was begun immediately; the hamlets of the "Aït Iraten" were "devoured," but those of the "Aït Atman," in the general disorder of the harka, were not spared either.

Having arrived at Taferghoust, at the entrance to the gorges of the Ogdemt, the /302/ kaids stopped for a moment. The Gontafi could then cleverly negotiate in secret with ᶜOmar Touzzalti, kaid of the Gedmiwa. The order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was to advance into the mountains up to where they would get to destroy the rebel's house. The amghar then pretended to flee on the south versant of the Atlas, among the Aït Semmeg, and it was made to appear that his dwelling was being demolished. Then ᶜOmar Touzzalti commanded his contingents to withdraw.

A great discussion then arose among the allies. The "Aït Atman" were complaining that the villages of their leff brothers had been destroyed without the harka's having been authorized to devour the "Aït Iraten" of the villages of Tagontaft and Mouldirt, remaining intact amidst the olive trees. The two leffs, "Imsifern" and "Indghertit," of the Gedmiwa then took sides respectively for their natural allies, "Aït Iraten" and "Aït Atman," and soon the melee spread within the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/. At this shameful spectacle, the kaid ᶜOmar Touzzalti, who had

/302 cont./

175 descended to a house in the village of Anebdour and was observ-
159 ing events, jumped on his mule, and, climbing the rough road
*631 of the Tizi n Imiri, he returned most quickly to his casbah in
*634 Amismiz, abandoning the people under his jurisdiction to their
616 quarrels. The enemies of the Gontafi dispersed in confusion,
•726 without succeeding in reducing his prestige.
648 The amghar Mohammed interested himself from then on in pursuing his policy of conquest with the greatest energy. The amghar Bou Naser, of the village of Aghren, of the "Aït Atman," was in flight among the Aït Tadrart of the Sirwa; he was replaced by sheiks at the disposal of the Gontafi; at Taferghoust he likewise named his friend Mohammed n Aït Hasein. Then his indomitable adversary, Mohammed n Aït Ouchefar, of the fraction of Tagemout, quite close to Tagontaft, was driven into the Aghbar and his village occupied by the "Aït Iraten." Thanks to these victories, peace was assured for some years within this little state, conquered by arms, money, and alliances. Moreover, presents sent to the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, permitted the hope that the Makhzen /makhzan/ would grant some years of tranquillity to the chief of the Nefis, who did not cease protesting his devotion to the Sultan.

175 Henceforth we see the amghar, free to organize his domain
159 to his liking, reinforcing himself without losing time and construct-
*634 ing casbahs. On the pointed summit of a hill of Tagontaft, the
[712] tribe erects by /303/ "touiza," for the new chief, the great fortress that at present bars the valley and whose appearance, both massive and proud, expresses so well the will and the energy of the chief who conceived it.

[726] At Tinmel the elder brother of the amghar Mohammed, El Hajj Mohammed, becomes caliphate and takes possession of the property of the "Aït Atman," whom he drives from their homes and pursues as far as the territory of the Gedmiwa. The little plain of Tinmel, with its fertile lands and its olive groves, so precious in a mountain country where crops are difficult everywhere, furnishes abundant harvests. In order to store the provi-
[343] sions, master masons from the Tifnout come to build a large

/304 cont./

the support of the amghars of Taberbourt of the Aït Semmeg and of those of Talemt, enemies of the Bazzi of Talekjont.

The leff of the "Aït Zolit," having thus entered with its chiefs into the service of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Lhasen by the overturning of the ancient alliances, became from then on the enemy of the mountain "Aït Atman." When the amghar Achefar of Tagemout, driven from his country by the master of Tagontaft, came to take refuge on the territory of the "Aït Zolit," the amghar Mbarek of the Onein betrayed him and plundered him. The refugee then fled to the Aït Oumzal, in the fraction of the amghar Hijjo, but he was poisoned there. Up to our day all the fractions thus rallied were to remain faithful to the Gontafi.

One last event was going to increase further the power of the chief of the Nefis and make of him the uncontested master of the mountains until the day when the Makhzen /makhzan/ would consent to recognize his strength officially by giving him the title of kaid.

The death of Brahim el Grawi, pasha of the casbah at Marrakech, which took place at the same time as that of the Sultan, Sidi Mohammed, drowned in the basin of the Agdal (1874), had just put an end to the truce that had permitted the amghar Mohammed to conquer the asif Nefis by force or politics. Ahmed ou Malek, new pasha of the casbah, had refused to ignore the Gontafi's rebel status any longer, because, they say, he was finding the presents sent to him insufficient. ʿAli Ben Lhasen of Agergour, kaid of the Ouzgita, found the moment favorable for obtaining a new expedition against his rebel sheik. He cleverly had spread in the land the rumor that the amghar Mohammed wanted to make himself independent, as the Almohades had been in the same places, and this memory was enough to make Marrakech tremble again. This time important contingents were assembled; a kaid of the "gich" /gish/, ʿAbdallah Tamachot, who represented the Makhzen /makhzan/, went back up the Nefis, accompanied by the Ouzgita and tribes of the plain and of the Dir of Marrakech: the Oulad Dlim, the Ida Ou Blal, the Gheghaia, the Souktana. At the same time the kaid Cherradi

/304 cont./

175 of Amismiz arrived by way of the Ogdemt with the forces of the
159 Gedmiwa. /305/ Finally, the Aït Waouzgit and the Glawa de-
*634 scended toward Tinmel, by way of the cols of the Onein, under
*631 the authority of Mohammed Ibibat, chief of Telwet and father of
648 Si el Madani Glawi.

•726 Before the arrival of this formidable harka, the amghar Mo-
[727] hammed had set afire with his own hand his supplies from Talat n Yaqoub and had taken refuge in the impregnable agadir that he had had constructed by the tribe at Tagontaft. The allied contingents were assembling in disorder in the Tinmel basin when, from the terraces of the casbah of the amghar Mohammed, there was seen advancing through the Tizi n Tgontaft the harka of the Glawi, which stopped a short distance from the fortress. What exactly happened then? Could the riches of the Gontafi, already famous, play their usual role? Did Si Mohammed Ibibat, an ambitious and prudent man, understand that he was risking being a victim of the same fate later in his mountains and that it was doubtless better to spare oneself an ally? It is also said that the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft invoked, with the chief of Telwet, the brotherhood of the Aït Waouzgit, to whom the tribe of the Asif Nefis as well as that of the Glawa are connected by ancient alliances. However that may be, after a sham combat at Aman n Iniris, the horsemen of Mohammed Ibibat fled and brought about panic in the whole army of the Makhzen /makhzan/, camped in the plain of Tinmel. At the same time, 75 men shut up in the house of Tayeb n Ouchefar at Tagemout were encircled and constrained by thirst to surrender unconditionally to the "Aït Iraten." All the chiefs of the Ouzgita of the Kik and the "Aït [727] Atman" from the Nefis wadi who were found there had their throats cut like sheep, while, through clever thoughtfulness, the captured soldiers of the Makhzen were, on the contrary, sent back after having received new clothes.

175 The rout of the great harka definitively established in the
159 south the reputation of the Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft. People hardly
*634 knew how to explain, if it is not by the effect of the magic
554 baraka of the amghar Mohammed and his family, how "two of
798

/306 cont./

*634 The rise and the development of the power of the chief of
616 Tagontaft offer us the most complete example that we can find of
121 a leader who became great by means of the struggle of the two leffs
159 and who succeeded in conquering a fief of which he became the absolute master. We shall not find, in the history of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the nineteenth century, other amghars who won such successes solely by the working of the politics of the leffs. Two other chiefs, born in the country of the Seksawa, whose political role we are going to study, did not reach the same degree of power as the Gontafi and have remained up to our day apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/. But we shall nevertheless see them rise like him, by routes a little different, above the institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ canton that limit their first efforts, and little by little free themselves from the servitude of the leffs (2).

[127]
[113]

2. We are borrowing this study of the minor chiefs of the Seksawa from the works of F. de la Chapelle, sometimes reproducing the very terms that he employs (Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtouggi/, 1926; "Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain /A great kaidate of the Moroccan South/," Af. française, Oct., 1927, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental /The Formation of Monarchic Power in the Berber Tribes of the Western High Atlas/," Hespéris, 1928, pp. 263-285).

175 II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- We have
159 already mentioned how the father of Mokhtar Seksawi, the mo-
*634 qaddem of Awines, /307/ Hammo ou Bella, of the canton of the
•726

/307 cont./

175 Aït Lhasen of the "Imsifern" leff, had, in the reign of Moulay el
159 Hasan, imprudently tried to seize power without first doing away
*634 with his enemies. Then when he was engaged in the conquest of
•726 the hostile cantons, he was betrayed by his men and perished a victim of the hate of the soffs in his own village. It was at this moment that a notable of the canton of the Aït Mousa, a neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, Mbarek Chtittihi, son of a former kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, took the title of amghar and came to the aid of the son of the moqaddem of Awines. The young Mokhtar, already remarkable for the precocity of his political thinking, succeeded very quickly, with this support, in driving away his enemies. His success was such that his benefactor, the Chtittihi, and another amghar, Ahmed ou Bihi, sheik of the Aït ʿAbdallah, were not long in becoming alarmed about it. As a
*[631] matter of fact, the amghar of the Aït Mousa was cherishing ambitious projects; he had just succeeded in having himself named kaid and was then extending his influence over the Seksawa fractions of the high mountains; it was important for his success that the young chief of the Aït Lhasen remain docilely under his protection.

[682] Si Mokhtar then had, as we have said, the good fortune of succeeding in assassinating his unyielding adversaries in the course of a big repast of reconciliation, which he had presented to the whole fraction in his rebuilt dwelling. After that victory he immediately undertook the conquest of the tribe.

We are going to see him henceforth pursue his work with his indefatigable tenacity.

175 First of all he reduces the little nearby "taqbilt" of the Sekrat,
159 of the leff of the "Indghertit," opposed to his own; then since the
*634 Aït ʿAbdallah, of the same leff, have recognized a new chief, the
726 kaid Baddoh, whose mission is to do away with Si Mokhtar, at the
616 instigation of the kaid of Bouaboud, the amghar forestalls the designs of this emissary and has him assassinated. He appears from then on as a leff chief and rallies around him all the "Imsifern."

175 Threatened by the more and more disturbed Chtittihi, Si
159 Mokhtar does not fear starting a struggle against his former
*634
726

/307 cont./

175 159 *634 926 benefactor. He conquers two villages of his "taqbilt" and even builds a house in one of them. But his adversaries use against him means that he does not hesitate to use himself. One day, he fortunately escapes death in the explosion of an enormous charge of powder deposited under the upper chamber of the house /308/ where he is to be found with his family. This attempt is the work of a notable of the country, secretly allied with the Chtittihi and bribed by the Mtouggi.

175 159 *634 625 602 Si Mokhtar constitutes for himself from then on a dependable guard furnished by families allied to his; to avoid ambushes, he moves around ceaselessly, without ever saying where he is going. In his casbah of Bou Taradin, he inspects the sentinels at all hours. He changes his living habits ceaselessly, and his wives themselves do not know in advance in which of his houses he will come to sleep. He no longer lives anywhere but on the second floor, and the lower room is filled with stone and earth and closed with a padlock (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle, Hespéris, 1928, 3rd-4th quarter.

175 159 *634 616 578 Amidst this feverish life dominated by fear of betrayal, the amghar keeps an unappeased ambition nonetheless. Thanks to the incessant dissensions in the leff of the "Indghertit" of the asif of the Seksawa, Si Mokhtar intervenes more and more as arbitrator, relying on the "Imsifern," who are loyal to him. The troubled circumstances in the mountains favor his projects. The political situation becomes very complicated in the Atlas at this time, because of the struggle of the kaid Mtouggi against Si Tayeb Gontafi, who has conquered the valleys of the Ogdemt, of the Aghbar, and of the Asif el Mal (1904). During the rivalry of the two great kaids, who are trying to get support in the high mountains among the independent fractions, the leffs are sometimes broken up. But most often the chief of Tagontaft relies on the "Indghertit," while the Mtouggi prefers to seek the co-operation of the "Imsifern." Thus the Chtittihi becomes the ally of the Gontafi, Si Mokhtar that of the Mtouggi.

/308 cont./

175 159 *634 578 [682] In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coalition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassinated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi approaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo. For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage.

• [726] [712] The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/ when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered; the Chtittihi"s villages are razed, and in the middle of his adversary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house, which makes his victory definitive.

175 159 *634 631 578 726 616 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when the amghar of the Aït ʿAbdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his territory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances in the leff of the "Imsifern," which he has sometimes had to neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident "Imsifern" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the "Indghertit."

175 159 *631 *634 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi, who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he

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/310 cont./

*634 616 the summits appears another amghar, El Hajj Moulid, of the Aît Haddiyous, who has succeeded in establishing a kind of pacific hegemony over the independent "taqbilt" of the high mountains, and whose authority, solidly established in the cantons of the two leffs, can nevertheless be compared with that of the amghars Mohammed n Aît Lhasen of Tagontaft and Mokhtar Seksawi.

175 *634 616 • 726 In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Aît Haddiyous formed a group of three little cantons administered by moqaddems; they had kept from the glorious traditions of the amghars of the thirteenth century, their ancestors, only a great combativeness and a particular passion for intervening in the struggle of the leffs. During the first half of the century, they had formed the natural clientele of an independent amghar of the Asif el Mal, established at Adassil of the Ind Maghous, Mohammed n Aît Qaid ʿAli, whom they supported in his war against the kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at Amismiz in the name of the brotherhood of the "Indghertit." Later they had helped his nephew and successor, Si Haddouch, to subjugate two "taqbilt" of the high valleys, the Amesmatert and the Iwonsekten, who had tried to free themselves from his domination. Then, little by little, the Seksawa of the high valleys had held themselves apart from external wars and had reserved their forces for the combats that were waged within their own tribe.

* [631] At the time when, under the pressure of the great chiefs of the vicinity, /311/ the regime of the amghars was beginning to appear in a large number of "taqbilt," until then remaining attached to the oligarchic regime, a moqaddem from Tassa, El Hajj Moulid n Aît el Bazz, of modest origin, succeeded in imposing himself upon the various families of his canton. This small revolution had an original character, which explains the consequence of the development of the power of the Aît el Bazz; in this fraction, which passed for one of the most valorous of the leff of the "Indghertit," it was "Imsifern" of the vicinity, coming especially from the Ida Ou Zimmer, who took part for El Hajj Moulid and enabled him to kill the family heads who were opposed to the development of his authority.

/311 cont./

175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen, Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the last independent fractions of the inaccessible summits grouped around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political re-
233 lations with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the
[361] inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements approved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force, now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, possessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is
[431] celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival, his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

/313 cont./

*634 communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can,
[133] if he likes, play the profitable role of "concierge of the valleys" (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

[173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had
[648] powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in
[712] these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Sad
[631] Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century.
* It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

175 However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of
*634 Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Asif el
159 Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay ʿAbderrahman, a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of the Aït Qaïd ʿAli, who had, it is said, now in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by the strong "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, moreover, the neighboring cantons that he had subjugated; they were the Aït Tabgao, the Iberdaten, the Erdouz, the Anougal, Annerni.

[712] By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars
[616] the valley of the Aït Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad. Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa warriors.

175 Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid ʿOmar Touz-
*634 zalti, established at Amismiz, the amghar Mohammed first of
•726 all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif
*631 el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis,
159 at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the

159 /313 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/ repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
[648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general con-
[796] fusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali," in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza,
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf," which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
[648] Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom. After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared they were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

/314 cont./

175 of the mountains, intervening in the struggles of the Aït Gassa
159 and the Aït Tiksit of the leff of the "Imsifern"; at the same time
*634 he obliged his leff, sometimes indocile, to follow his policy by
•726 closing to the independents the markets and routes of access.
616 When the old chief died, his nephew Si Haddouch succeeded him. Immediately the "Imsifern" of the fraction of the Amesmatert tried to regain their independence with the support of the Iwonsekten (1).

1. Cf: Book II, Ch. III, p. 245.

175 Haddouch then solicited from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
159 title of kaid. He obtained, with much difficulty, only the com-
*631 mand of his /315/ "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous. The kaid of the
*634 Mzouda, consulted by Moulay el Hasan on the interest that the
554 conferment of the title of kaid on the amghar of the Ind Maghous
[648] presented, gave the following reply: "He is a reliable man; his heart is good, but his house is too near the mountains; it is not suitable for a kaid of the Makhzen."

175 Si Hammo, brother of Si Haddouch, took the command in
159 his turn in 1879, but the definitive rallying of this family to the
*634 Makhzen /makhzan/ had procured for the amghar of the Ind
616 Maghous the complete loss of his authority in his mountain leff.
726 Aït Ga'ïr, Imelwan, Idma, and Intedan, all "Indghertit," how-
[648] ever, united to drive him away. The Aït Haddiyous, still faithful to the memory of the amghar Mohammed, came to restore him; but soon, making alliance for the occasion with the "Imsifern" of the vicinity, enemies of the amghars of Adasil, they pillaged and destroyed the casbah of Tagadirt, which closed off the valley. It was the end of the power of the Ind Maghous. As long as they had represented Berbère /Berber/ independence in the eyes of the montagnards, they had received the fullest support of their leff brothers of the high valleys and had in this way succeeded in dominating the adverse leff. Having definitively
[648] entered the Sultan's service, they were, on the contrary, to lose all support among the "Indghertit" remaining free and were soon to see the subject "Imsifern" rebel against them.

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175 When de Foucauld crossed the country in 1883, he was again
*634 able to find the small state of Tazenakht intact and in all its
616 strength; the enumeration that he gives of the cantons that then constituted it shows us that the leffs of the "Inemzel" and of the "Aït Iraten," those of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Tintlet," of the "Isouktan" and of the "Igezzoulen" were equally represented there. The amghar ʿAbd el Wahad, who exercised command in concert with his brother Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, then passed, with the kaid Gontafi and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt, for one of the richest men in all the South. He could raise 1,200 guns and cope with the chief of Telwet (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, p. 106.

175 After the death of Moulay el Hasan, when the Glawa under-
*634 took the conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, they again found the
•726 Zanifi as enemy; defeated in the first combats, this chief soon
[558] lost all prestige and in our day the power of the amghars of this
[178] country is no longer anything but a memory. But at that very moment another chief, the amghar ʿAli of Tamdakht, was in his turn, with the support of the Aït Waouzgit of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten," to construct a powerful casbah and stop the Telwet kaids' march toward the South for several years.

*631 The strength of these minor chiefs, capable of uniting the
*634 hostile parties under the same government, seems to us to have
554 resided especially in their prestige as amghars hostile to the
648 Makhzen /makhzan/, like the chiefs of the Ind Maghous and the Aït Haddiyous among the Gedmiwa and the Seksawa.

*631 There also exists among the Aït Tadrat of the Sirwa another
*634 family /317/ as old, they say, as that of the Zanifi. For at least
175 five generations the Ihebban, established at Aoullous, exercised
616 the command of the Aït Tadrart before the conquest of the Glawa, relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." But the adverse cantons of the leff of the "Isouktan" were also accepting their domination.
[178] The authority of that family, in former times an enemy of the one

/327 cont./

175 I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1888 /sic/). -- We
*631 have studied at length the first stages of the formation and devel-
*634 opment of the power of the amghar of Tagontaft, originally a
159 simple canton sheik, then chief of a bellicose leff, finally master of the tribe of the Nefis wadi, which he managed to conquer with his own forces.

The independent career of the chief of Tagontaft had, from then on, reached its limit; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the time when a brave amghar favored by the fortune of arms can, in the high mountains, make himself independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and take up again the tradition of the minor chiefs of the Middle Ages by adorning himself with the Berbère /Berber/ title of "agellid" is no more.

[648] /328/ So in 1876 we see the amghar Mohammed, happy but uneasy about his victory over the contingents of the tribes guided by the kaids of the vicinity, humbly solicit the recognition of his power by the sovereign. Named kaid in his turn, having even become by that similar to the minor chiefs whose fortresses rise at the foot of the Dir and whom he has fought up to the present, the amghar enters with his tribes into the common tradition; soon his son Tayeb Gontafi will become the rival of two other kaids whose origins are less closely bound up with the working of Berbère /Berber/ politics and who became important only with the support of the Sultan: the Mtouggi and the Glawi.

175 There nevertheless existed, at the time when Moulay el
*631 Hasan recognized the new kaid, an obstacle to his freedom,
*634 which left him in a marked state of inferiority with respect to
159 the other chiefs of tribes: free communication with the "Azaghar"
616 of Marrakech remained closed to him. Actually, his conquests
•726 extended toward the North as far as Tinisk, which possessed an amghar from his leff. But beyond, the passage was cut off by the montagnards of the Asif n Tinkert, convinced "Aït Atman," who harbored toward the "Aït Iraten," their hereditary leff enemies, a hatred that the recent events of the Nefis had revived again. Still farther, toward the plain, the village of Tagadirt n Bour, placed at a narrowing of the valley, formed a natural fortress that assured for its chief the control of communications. The amghar

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175 of Tagadirt n Bour, secretly favorable to the Gontafi, nevertheless
*631 was afraid to open his gates to him for fear of his subjects from the
*634 leff of the "Aït Atman." In order to avoid a new war in the Nefis,
159 which would doubtless have dangerously attracted the attention of
616 the Sultan, the amghar Mohammed assembled a small harka at
726 Talat n Yaqoub, where his new residence was to be found, led it in secret on Amismiz by way of the Tizi n Imiri, and traveled by night on the Dir of the Gedmiwa. Having thus turned position, he came to take possession of Tagadirt n Bour by surprise from the North. Family alliances sealed the union of the sheik of Tagadirt
[712] n Bour and the kaid, and a solid casbah was built to close the valley. This fortress marked for a time the extreme limit toward the North of the territory of the chiefs of Tagontaft. It was the last expedition of the kaid Mohammed, who died shortly afterwards and was replaced by his son Si Tayeb (1883).

The young kaid, already prepared to exercise power by the role that he /329/ had played for several years, took command resolutely. He tightened the alliances in the mountains, equipped the little band of mercenaries that his father had left him, and waited for the Sultan's death in order to act.

175 II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). --
*631 Several years later, about 1886, Si el Madani Glawi at Telwet
*634 also received his inheritance from his father, the amghar Mohammed Ibibat.

Although the history of the first years of the acquisition of power by the chiefs of the Glawa is less well known to us than that by the amghars of the Nefis, many events that happened between 1855 and 1880 still remaining hidden by these kaids as if they were dangerous to divulge, what we know about the origins of the chiefs of Telwet suffices for us to understand how they succeeded in dominating the tribes.

From the first years the authority of the amghars of the Glawa is closely associated with the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, so that the first stages of their accession to power cannot be exactly compared with those of the amghars of the Nefis.

175 /331 cont./
159 toward the North, in the same way that Tagadirt n Bour, in the
Nefis, has become for the Gontafi a fortress to stop the Ouzgita
*631 of the Jbel Kik. Nevertheless Si Hammadi, brother of el Madani,
*634 establishes himself at Taourirt of the Warzazat and manages to
[712] eliminate from power the family of the amghars of the Aït ben
ʿAli. Thanks to the possession of this important position, the attention of the kaid of the Glawa will henceforth be turned toward the south.

175 Indeed, a favorable occasion is not long in presenting itself.
159 /332/ Having left on an expedition to the Tafilelt in 1893,
*631 Moulay el Hasan, wearied, comes back with a large harka by
*634 way of the valley of the Dadès and the Dir of the Imeghran, after
648 following the great route of the oasis of the Ferkla and the Todgha.
726 Si el Madani has the cleverness to have the last stopping places of the sherifian army prepared with care and to welcome the old ruler with such perfect considerateness that his hospitality is noted and appreciated. During his brief stay at Telwet, Moulay el
[713] Hasan entrusts to the kaid of the Glawa the mission of collecting taxes in the Feija and toward the Todgha, a post that his father had formerly received for several years, and above all leaves him precious evidence of his confidence, a Krupp cannon, some shells, and some modern guns. The army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has scarcely departed before these novelties are tried with success against the cantons of the enemy leff in the nearby valley of the Imini. Thus the future looks most favorable, and it suffices for a "siba" to come to break out in the South of Morocco for the young kaid of Telwet to rush victoriously into the conquest of the tribes.

175 III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy
*631 (1850-1894). -- The reign of Moulay el Hasan had been less
578 favorable for the rapacious chiefs of the Mtougga in their casbah of Bouaboud, and the development of their power had often been stopped by the resistance offered them by the kaids of the vicinity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, all their history had been caught up in their rivalry with El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, the kaid of the great confederation of the Haha,

/332 cont./

175 *631 578 175 *631 *726 [669]

established in the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten. At rare intervals, however, the minor kaid of Bouaboud, Mohammed n Aït Mousa, had obtained the command of the Nfifa and of the Demsira, but he had not been able to succeed in having his authority accepted. Cutting trees, razing villages, he had left only memories of hate in the mountains, and the "siba" had driven him away. During the revolt of the tribes at the beginning of Sidi Mohammed's reign, from 1859 to 1864, El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi even succeeded for a time in expelling his enemies from Bouaboud and named among the Mtougga three minor kaids at his disposal, supported by a small "makhzen" of Haha warriors. Finally fortune turned: Bihi Ajerram -- a Mtouggi of the fraction of the Ida ou Merzoug, allied with the Haha, great enemy of the kaids of Bouaboud, was assassinated, and /333/ some years afterwards ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi himself perished at Marrakech, poisoned by the Sultan (1868). Immediately the Mtougga, who aspired to take the place left vacant by the effacement of the Haha, rushed toward the Sous and Taroudant. If the kaid el Hajj ᶜOmar (1)

1. The chiefs of the Mtougga have been successively the kaid Ahmed n Ait Sᶜadoun, El Hajj ᶜAddi, died in prison at Mogador about 1845, then the three brothers: Mohammed, died about 1859, El Hajj ᶜOmar, died about 1880, and El Hajj Mesaᶜoud, died about 1890, finally ᶜAbd el Malek ben Mohammed (1886-1927). A younger branch, in a steadfast manner, has held the office of Khalifat /caliphate/ of the kaid; thus there have succeeded one another: El Cheger Mousa, brother of the kaid ᶜAddi, the moqaddem El Housin, son of El Cheger, died in 1892, and his sons, Si Bou Selham and Si Mohammed.

of Bouaboud, who had succeeded the kaid Mohammed, suffered serious repulses in his distant expeditions, he at least cleverly

/333 cont./

175 *631 .726 knew how to maintain valuable divisions among his enemies, the Haha. After the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Moulay el Hasan had given three kaids to the great confederation. One of them, Mbarek Anflous, of the tribe of the Neknafa, managed to regain unity again; but adroit politics enabled the Mtougga to have him thrown into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and to have named in his place four new minor kaids incapable of agreeing with one another (1878).

175 *631 648 Free from worries from the side of the Haha, El Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi turned toward the East. He then got the Ida Ou Ziki as well as the Nfifa and the Demsira, whose minor autochthonous kaids were put in irons by the Sultan. But again this time the abuses became such and the domination of the Mtougga so intolerable that complaints sent to Moulay el Hasan were heard, and these mountain tribes got to be governed from Marrakech by the kaid el Hamida Menebbhi for 12 years until 1892.

175 *631 About 1890, young ᶜAbd el Malek succeeded his uncle, the kaid Mesaᶜoud, brother of El Hajj ᶜOmar. As soon as he took command, he gave evidence of great cleverness in the politics of the mountain tribes. A kaid of the plain, Saïd el Korimi, neighbor of the Haha, had succeeded in having the command of the Nfifa and the Demsira taken away from the Menebbhi to his advantage. By cunning provocations ᶜAbd el Malek caused a revolt to break out upon the passage of a "mehalla" of Sidi Mohammed, son of the Sultan. Some months before the death of Moulay el Hasan the Korimi was dismissed. The Mtougga, remaining in possession of the Ida Ou Ziki and the Mesgina, no longer had any powerful enemy and the way toward the south was also free for them.

175 *631 648 During the last years of the old Sultan's reign, we see each of the young kaids of the Atlas, Si ᶜAbd el Malek /334/ Mtouggi, Si Tayeb Gontafi, Si el Madani Glawi, multiply his intrigues in the mountains, reinforce his alliances, and, by the workings of the leffs, pave the way for the conquest of the neighboring tribes. But their action is similar to the work of termites, which mine the country while remaining invisible. Actually, nobody is

/334 cont./

121 conquest of the tribes was realized during these five years of war:
*631 it is the presence of modern armament in the hands of the great kaids.

175 In the course of the two sherifian expeditions into the Sous,
*631 in 1882 and 1886, there figures in fact, for the first time in the
713 /335/ mehallas of the Sultan, a true artillery, operated by
648 specialists, under the command of a French officer; machine
439 guns and especially cartridge guns thus appear, which attract the attention of the Berbères /Berbers/. The young mountain chiefs understand immediately the advantage that they will be able to draw from these new arms, against which the old flintlock guns of the montagnards will be worthless. Thus shortly afterward we see the Glawi ask for and get from the old sovereign, upon the passage of the mehalla from the Tafilelt, a Krupp cannon and modern guns. The Goutafi and the Mtouggi take care to buy at Mogador or to obtain from the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Ba Hmad, "Martinie" and "Chassepot" guns in order to put them in the hands of their companions. The supplying of arms to the South of Morocco is all the easier because the European powers are then competing to intervene in the affairs of the Moroccan Empire, and because certain of them are facilitating the clandestine importation of guns and cartridges, both on the Rif coasts and on those of the Sous. For twenty years, until the progress of the contraband enabled the tribes remaining independent to acquire in turn chassepots, lebels /French magazine-rifles/, and Mausers, the kaids of the Atlas will enjoy marked superiority in combat, thanks to modern armament: they will be able to utilize it to break all resistance and to constitute their large commands in a few years.

175 The Glawi, fortunate possessor of the Krupp cannon, first be-
*631 gins the struggle against the amghars of the south of the Atlas,
*634 around whom are grouped the independent tribes. All forces of
•726 resistance to the penetration of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ -- for
648 Si el Madani invokes the name of the Sultan and orders received from Marrakech in order to justify his conquests -- unite around the amghar ʿAli n Aït Haddo of the Aït Zineb, whose father,

/335 cont./

175 Brahim, chief of the leff of the "Aït Iraten" for a long time, has
*631 already resisted the amghar Mohammed Ibibat. Si el Madani has
*634 on his side the mountain, all the fractions of the Glawa, the
•726 "Imemzel" leff for the most part, and the Ouneila, at war with
[648] the Aït Zineb for possession of a limitrophe village. The power of the amghar ᶜAli grows in the course of these battles; his prestige eclipses that of the amghars of Tazenakht; his casbah of Tamdakht is extended and fortified; around him live ever more numerous companions, commanded by a "mechaouri," a kind of chief of the mercenaries. For long months the Glawa are even forced /336/ to defend the entrance to their territory at Imirgen; Si Hammadi, Madani's brother, is beseiged by a rebel in his casbah of Taourirt of the Warzazat. Finally, after several years of efforts, the Makhzen /makhzan/ wins, the Glawa advance as far as Tamdakht. Their cartridge rifles enable them to fight innumerable warriors of the Aït Waouzgit on the plain with advantage. The siege of the casbah of the amghar ᶜAli goes on in spite of the difficulties created by the fury of the tribes; each of the artificial grottoes hollowed out of the cliff of the wadis encloses marksmen
[913] who decimate the assailants. Finally the Krupp cannon is brought to 300 meters from the rampart, out of reach of the flintlock rifles. Thirty shells are fired point-blank, piercing some breaches in the rampart, and the qsar /fortified place/ is won after a bloody battle. The amghar ᶜAli, fleeing in the desert, is overtaken and his throat cut, and his head is sent to Telwet. The tribes of the Aït Waouzgit accept the authority of the Glawa (1900). For a few years all resistance disappears; the subjugation of the Dadès, an expedition to the Todgha and to the Tafilelt complete the victory.

Si Tayeb Gontafi profits no less fortunately by favorable circumstances. During the short "siba" that broke out upon the
[669] death of the Sultan, the tribes of the Dir north of the Atlas revolted and put to flight their minor kaids, who sought refuge at Moulay Ibrahim of the Kik. The tribe of the Ouzgita is without a chief; Si Tayeb advances with his forces and takes possession of Agergour, where the enemy of his father, the kaid Brahim, so

/336 cont./

175 often assembled expeditions against the amghar of Tagontaft.
*631 The Gontafi establishes one of his relatives in the casbah of
*634 Agergour, and for 30 years, except during the time of the su-
•726 premacy of the Glawa, he will firmly maintain this conquest.
In 1897, after long preparations, Si Tayeb undertakes to subdue the tribes of the south of Tagontaft; two high valleys of the Gedmiwa, the Ogdemt and the Aghbar near Talat n Yaqoub and Tagontaft, are won, then the harka of the Gontafi descends toward the Aït Semmeg, the Onein, and the Ihouziyoun, breaking the resistance of the tribes whenever it manifests itself. A revolt of the Aghbar in which the independent "taqbilt" of the Seksawa [669] and from south of the Tichka participate stops the distant expeditions for a time; then Si Tayeb departs again for the Sous and among the Inda ou Zal engages the Aït Semmeg of the South and the Souktana, while relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." A serious defeat stops him at the Aït Mimoun, among /337/ the Souktana; wounded in combat, he goes back to his mountain fortress and henceforth contents himself with organizing his conquests (1902).

175 ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, like the Gontafi, has utilized the
*631 "siba" to put himself in the place of the minor chiefs of the Dir
726 of the north of the Atlas. He intervenes among the Mzouda, the
[669] Frouga and establishes himself at Amismiz, in the place left vacant by the kaid in flight. The confederation of the Gedmiwa is then divided between the two neighboring great kaids: the plain and the Dir revert to ᶜAbd el Malek, and Si Tayeb appropriates the mountains. Inversely from the other two great kaids -- the Glawi and the Gontafi -- who are leaving on expeditions toward the south, the Mtouggi reserves all his efforts for the tribes of the Marrakech plain, and although possession of the Ida Ou Ziki and Mesgina guarantees him access to the Sous plain, he hesitates to get involved there. This is because a dangerous rival is growing in importance on his flanks in the person of the kaid Saᶜid of the Ida Ou Gelloul, at the center of the Haha country. A favorite of the vizier Ba Hmad, the "Gellouli" even obtains at that moment command of the plain of the Chtouka and of Tiznit.

/337 cont./

175 *631 726 The only remedy is to excite against him the kaid of the Neknafa, Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, who makes a balance to him. But on the death of the all-powerful vizier protector of the Gellouli (1900), the favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ passes to Ahmed Anflous, who in turn gets the command of Tiznit; in these circumstances, ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi does not believe the moment favorable to get involved in distant conquests; he contents himself with subjugating and pillaging the tribes of the Demsira, Nfifa, and Dwiran.

175 *631 726 648 V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire (1902-1913) -- The appeal launched by the Sultan to all the kaids of the Empire to come to fight against the rebel Bou Hamara, who had become threatening between Fez and Taza, comes then to interrupt for a time the conquests of the chiefs of the Atlas. They themselves assemble the warriors of their tribes and go to fight in the Gharb. But the defeat of the sherifian mehalla in the Rif and its rout toward Oudjda and Oranie clearly show them the impotence of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Having come back to their mountains just in time to restore order and to stop the "siba" that their absence was enough to cause to break out, the three Berbère /Berber/ kaids felt themselves becoming, in the general anarchy of the Empire, the uncontested masters of the South. We see them then consolidate their /338/ fortresses and construct new ones; next they actively take up their military undertakings again, as if they understood that their future depends solely on the power that they will have succeeded in establishing during the period of confusion henceforth opened.

175 *631 578 Up to now each of them had directed his efforts on the regions nearest his casbah and especially toward the plains easy to subdue. But the great commands now come to touch one another; causes of conflict multiply. The Onein, between the domains of the Glawa and Gontafa, is the object of dissension, and the partisans of the two chiefs come to blows. The high valleys of the Gedmiwa and Seksawa are disputed between the Mtouggi and the Gontafi, and each favors several amghars in the hope of getting

/338 cont./

175 a foothold in the mountains. Soon the alliance of the kaids of
*631 Telwet and Bouaboud against the chief of the Nefis takes shape.
578 Enclosed as in a vise between the two neighboring commands,
the Gontafi receives the most violent blows, and it happens that
175 he is reduced by them to shutting himself up in his mountain for-
*631 tresses, threatened by both the revolt of his tribes and the attacks
726 of his rivals (1904-1907). During this time, in the plains, ᶜAbd
el Malek and Si el Madani dispute the best lands and take all the
minor kaids into their protection.

Finally the disorder is at its height at the moment when Mou-
175 lay ᶜAbd el Hafid is proclaimed at Marrakech in August, 1907,
*631 under the protection of Si el Madani Glawi, to check ᶜAbd el
726 ᶜAziz "sold out to the Christians." The Gontafi, faithful and
648 obstinate, remains a partisan of ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz; ᶜAbd el Malek
Mtouggi, whose duplicity is without equal, passes from one side
to the other, according to whether success appears to favor it; he
in fact feels threatened among the Haha by the kaid Anflous, his
enemy, and does not care to compromise his security by a useless
loyalty. Having passed for a time into the service of ᶜAbd el
ᶜAziz, the Mtouggi routs, at Imi n Tanout, the kaid el Ayadi,
chief of the Rehamna, and El Hajj Thami Glawi, brother of El
Madani, on the Nefis; he is even going to take possession of Mar-
rakech, when news of the victory of the troops of Moulay ᶜAbd el
Hafid among the Chawiya (November, 1907) and the rout of the
"Sultan of the Christians" arrives.

175 The triumph of Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid makes Si el Madani the
*631 grand vizier of the new ruler established at Fez. The power of the
648 chief of Telwet then becomes limitless. He takes charge of col-
lecting the tax among the tribes of the north of Morocco, he
amasses riches, augments his following, and profits from his ele-
vated situation in order to establish /339/ his brothers at Marra-
kech and Demnat. He has assigned to him the command of all
the tribes of the Dir of the Atlas between Demnat and Amismiz.
His power then is comparable to that of the great Hintata chiefs
and the Mérinide viziers at the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-
Khaldun/.

/339 cont./

175 *631 -726 With admirable opportunism the Mtouggi has made himself the ally of Si el Madani. He even sends a harka against the minor chiefs of the Sous valley supported by the Gontafi. The lamentable repulse of this little army, beaten by the Howara, will moreover suffice to deter ᶜAbd el Malek from intervening again in the plains of the South.

175 *631 648 726 Nevertheless, events rush on and upset the fragile policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The intervention of the French at Fez during the summer of 1911 causes the disgrace of Si el Madani, followed shortly afterward by the retreat of the sultan Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid. The Glawa regain their fortresses in the Atlas, and, without losing a day, the astute ᶜAbd el Malek rushes behind them to take possession of the tribes of the Dir that they abandon.

Finally, a last storm rises in the south and swoops down on the Atlas. El Hiba, the son of Ma el Ainin, a fanatic who, in the desert of Mauritania, at the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign, preached hatred of Christians, leaves the interior plain of the Sous and crosses the col of Ameskrout and the Bibaoun in order to head for Marrakech. He announces to the populations, weary of the exactions of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the kaids, the reign of justice. His companions, the Arabs of the desert, pass him off as the Mahdi, "the master of the hour," charged with delivering the country and reviving Islam. This explosion of xenophobia is as fearsome for the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs as for the Christians, because it calls on the popular forces hostile to their domination. The kaids shut themselves up in their casbahs and wait for the end of the adventure. Only ᶜAbd el Malek, out of spite against the Glawa, hostile to El Hiba, compromises himself for a time. But Colonel Mangin's cannon (September, 1912), which at Sidi Bou Otman scatters the "blue men" of the desert and the tribes of the Sous plains, is heard in the mountains, and the three great kaids come to submit to France, who confirms them in their commands.

175 *631 648 VI. Submission to France. -- It is, for the "lords of /340/ the Atlas," a new era that is beginning. Warlike rivalries have had their day; at present it is enough to make security reign in the conquered countries while reaping important benefits from these large territories.

/349 cont./

*631 The Glawa's taking possession of the large confederation of
*634 the Aït Waouzgit will make it clearly understood under what con-
721 ditions /350/ such a conquest is realized and how they proceed in the exploitation of the country.

175 At the time when Si el Madani Glawi began his political
*631 action among the Aït Waouzgit about 1890, the ancient institu-
*634 tions were still very much alive in part of the confederation.
616 About ten cantons of the summits of the Sirwa and of the Azilal
178 had preserved their Aït arbaᶜin and their small senates. In the valleys were found amghars, masters of a single canton, but who, by means of the institution of the leffs, extended their authority over some nearby groups; such were the chiefs of the cantons of the Aït Tigdi Ouchen at Tafounan, those of the Zenaga at Ighil n Ogho, of Taliwin in the Zagmouzen, of Tazoult in the tribe of the Souktana, of Dou Taourirt among the Aït Semmeg, of Tamjerjt among the Aït ou Hamden; finally, of Takhorbant among the Aït Wartassa of the Azilal. Moreover, more important chiefs had conquered small commands most often formed, as we have seen, of cantons of the two leffs. These were the amghars of the Aït Tadrart to the southwest of the Sirwa and, closer to the Atlas, the amghars of Tamedakht and Tifoultout among the Aït Zineb.

The working of the leffs seems to us to be noticeably disturbed from this period on among the Aït Waouzgit by the ambitions of the amghars. In the Azilal, "combat leffs," "imqan n mokahelt," are constituted according to the circumstances. As has already been said, we no longer get to re-establish a rigorous correspondence be-
[578] tween the alliances of the cantons of the Atlas and those of the Tifnout; contradictions also appear to the south of the Sirwa at the junction of the "Inemzel-Aït Iraten" leffs with those of the "Isouktan" and "Igezžoulen" of the Anti-Atlas. This state of division favors the intrigues of the Glawa.

175 Four wars of conquest are necessary for the chiefs of Telwet to
*631 manage to reduce the large confederation. At the beginning, about
*634 1890, the whole country resists, without distinction as to leff, the
616 penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the alliance of the
•726 "Inemzel," the party of the Glawa, comes to detach from the
[669]

175 /350 cont./
*631 refractory bloc only the cantons of the Aït Tawiya and of the
*634 Ikhzamen, enemies of the Aït Imini; next comes the revolt of
616 the amghar ʿAli of Tamedakht, supported by the whole confed-
•726 eration, and which comes to an end with his death. About 1906
669 the amghar Zanifi of Tazenakht rises in his turn, aided by the amghars of the Azilal; the policy of Telwet then succeeds in winning in the two leffs the Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen /sic/, the Aït Oubial, Aït Atman, and the /351/ Inmarakht and breaking up the coalition; finally, after the great siba, from 1910 to 1913, the heavily armed Glawa subjugate the valleys and put an end to the violent quarrels of the amghars in the Azilal.

175 During these 25 years of fighting, the leff of the "Inemzel,"
*631 traditional ally of the Glawa, showed itself in the country of the
*634 Aït Waouzgit to be nearly as hostile to the kaid of Telwet as the
616 leff of the Aït Iraten, except, however, among the Ikhzamen and
726 the Aït Tawiya; most often it was the ambitions of the amghars and their rivalries that enabled the Makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs to dissociate the forces of resistance.

175 Tired of the country's successive revolts, the Glawa, starting
178 from 1913, undertake to organize the country in such a way as to
*631 break all resistance. Their first concern is to destroy, upon the
*634 passage of the harka, all the agadirs that they perceive in the
726 valleys of the Tifnout, of the Azilal, and of the Zagmouzen; later, all circumstances will be utilized to ruin the collective fortresses of the small mountain republics. The most powerful amghars disappear; they are replaced by minor sheiks, often without real influence, who become simple tax collectors under the orders of the caliphates; the "Ijmaʿan," those notables whose authority was imposed on the Aït Arbaʿin and directed the policy of the small autonomous cantons, also give way to effaced sheiks; the "Aït Arbaʿin" sometimes still exist, serving as intermediaries with the families and applying the customary law to the extent that the representative of the kaid tolerates it.

175 Four solid command-houses are built at the most important
*631 points in the conquered territory, in the Tidili, at Assarag of the
*634 Tifnout, at Assaka of the Aït ou Hamden in the Azilal, at
727
712

/353 cont./

175 the powerful kaid of the Haha, exercises the first command at a
*631 great distance. He is replaced by the kaid Mohammed Mtouggi,
*634 whose exactions have remained so famous in the faithful memory
619 of the tribes; attached then to the Nfifa and placed under the authority of an autochthonous kaid, ᶜAli ben Boujja, the Demsira take a rest for a time in the reign of Sidi Mohammed and at the beginning of that of Moulay el Hasan; but el Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi and his brother Mesaᶜoud come back again, then a kaid from Marrakech, Hamido el Menebbhi, and in 1892 Saᶜid el Korimi, whose domination was detested, and who left memories of misery up to our day. After the death of Moulay Hasan, Si ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi again obtains from the Makhzen the mission of subjecting them to the tax and devotes himself resolutely to it.

175 At the time when the other Berbère /Berber/ kaids are dream-
*631 ing about conquering large territories in the Sous valley, the
*634 Mtouggi undertakes to organize the command of the Demsira. One
•726 harka is enough to subdue the cantons located on the mountain trail: Asserato, the Irohalen, Afella Issen, Taskemt, the Aït Mesaᶜoud and Assen accept the new domination, and the refractory ones see their villages destroyed and their trees cut down.

/354/ The penetration of the mountains is more difficult. ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi succeeded in making progress through the agency of the sheik Ahmed Agzal from the canton of the Aït Daoud, of "Indghertit" leff. In former times the Aït Daoud put up an energetic resistance to the kaid ᶜOmar Mtouggi with the aid of the Aït Lahsen /sic/ commanded by the amghar Si Mokhtar, son of Hammo ou Bella, as well as of the Seksawa of the high mountains. It was in their territory that the amghar Khorsa, a Mtouggi, personal enemy of the chiefs of Bouaboud, took refuge for a long time, attacking the kaid's mokhaznis, carrying off his sheiks' flocks. But by means of these struggles an amghar appeared, Ahmed Agzal, who constructed a casbah at Taourirt. The montagnards, however, did not accept his absolute authority without difficulty. One day, at the instigation of a neighboring amghar, ᶜOmar ben Bini Ou Hafid, of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, they made a press millstone roll from the top of a high hill in order to break

175 /354 cont./
*631 open the walls of the fortress of Agzal. But at that moment an
*634 alliance concluded between the Mtouggi, Agzal, and Mokhtar
•726 Seksawi enabled the amghar of the Aït Daoud to triumph over his enemies.

175 In his restored casbah, Agzal strengthens his power and be-
*631 comes the uncontested chief of the "Indghertit," whose forces he
*634 puts, to the extent of his influence, in the service of the Mtouggi.
616 He confiscates the goods of his enemies, renders justice, levies taxes, which the council of notables collects as its only mission; nobody disregards his orders. The minor sheiks of the nearby cantons take his instructions, and he even obtains the direct command of certain groups of the adverse leff, such as Taskemt. At
[726] the other extremity of the tribe, the Mtougga allow to become important another amghar of the leff of the "Imsifern," who completes the taming of the mountain republics too distant from the sheik Agzal and whom their ancient alliances turn toward another party.

175 The command of the amghars is thus substituted for the
* 631 onerous domination of the kaid, which the mokhaznis make odious.
*634 Doubtless the populations are no less imposed upon; the kaid's
651 oumana are present when the sheiks collect the "zekkat" and the
178 "ᶜachour," which the Mtouggi awaits with impatience at Bouaboud; but at least, if the country is impoverished, it is its own chiefs who fix the tax, and they take some care not to ruin to no advantage a piece of land from which they get their living.
[616] Nevertheless, the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is such in these fractions that the councils of notables /355/ have disappeared and even the recollection of the leffs is rapidly being effaced.

178 The "taqbilt" far from the trail have kept more individuality
*634 and have put up some resistance. In particular, the Aït Mhand ou
616 Mousa of the "Imsifern" leff tried to reject the domination of
726 Bouaboud for several years. Aided in this struggle by the amghar
*631 Mokhtar Seksawi, their leff brother, they succumbed to the combined action of the "Indghertit" assembled by the amghar Agzal and other "Indghertit" from the mountains, bribed by the Mtouggi: Aït Haddiyous, Ida ou Izimmer, Idma, Tamarout, Igountar. This

*631 /355 cont./
*634 obstinate resistance at least procured for the Aït Mhand ou Mousa
178 the preserving of their Aït Arbaᶜin and their moqaddems, accept-
616 ing only a liaison agent who plays the role of amghar.
•726 The Tamarout fraction lost all its own institutions and has become similar, thanks to the action of the sheik Agzal, to its neighbors of the trail of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The Aït Breher, Aït Chaᶜib and Aït Tilet of the "Imsifern" leff resisted better. The first two of these "taqbilt" united closely to fight against the Mtougga's attempts at penetration. They restored the organization of moqaddems with more vigor than in the past. The
[671] customary law alone is applied in their territory, to the exclusion of the religious law; the moqaddems are changed regularly, and choosing them from overly powerful families is avoided for fear of seeing appear amghars whose first concern would be to favor the policy of the kaids. The Aït Chaᶜib showed themselves to be the indomitable adversaries of the caliphates of the Mtouggi for an especially long time and consented to submit only on the express condition of preserving a preferential regime. They pay Bouaboud only the ᶜachour and some "frida." The Aït Tilet, the most distant, have remained apart up to now, and the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, counts them among the independent "taqbilt" of the summits, whose destinies he tries to guide.

*631 XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- The Mtouggi's
*634 clever policy in the penetration of the Demsira is completed in the high mountains, as we have seen several times, by alliances that he concluded with the amghars of the Seksawa. In that region, where up to these recent years the intrigues coming out of the casbahs of Bouaboud and Tagontaft have crossed, one perceives more /356/ easily at present how the amghars most often prepare, without knowing it, the establishment of the domination of the great chiefs.

[178] The appearance of "despotic power" at the end of the nine-
[642] teenth century in the region remaining faithful on the whole to
[175] the regime of moqaddems and assemblies is not explained solely
[669] by the normal workings of oligarchic institutions; the frequency of

/356 cont./

*631 *634 178 /footnote 1 continued/ moqaddems. The kaids of Talemt, of the leff of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh," facilitated the establishment of amghars among the Aït Waggounsan and the Ida ou Kwais.

•[726] In order to dominate the independent amghars more surely, the kaid sets them against one another and undertakes their division by secret agents. If it is necessary, he even sends them arms with which to fight one another, and he avoids letting them grow in importance. By a natural reaction against the hidden endeavor of the kaid, each minor chief tries somehow /357/ or other to set up for himself a command and a zone of influence in which he reserves for himself exclusive guidance of external policy. At the same time he passes himself off to the people as the last rampart of liberty and thus ensures new prestige for himself with the inflas of the last backward cantons with the old constitutions, who come to his house to get his advice; by these indirect processes all the mountains thus become entangled, without knowing it or wanting it, in the complicated politics and intrigues of the great kaids.

178 616 *634 XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- It is easy to understand how much the old institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs, which served the amghars so well in their beginnings, is henceforth disturbed. The overturnings of alliances that we have already observed (1)

1. Cf. above, p. 398.

multiply: the minor chiefs pass from one side to the other with the warriors of the cantons that they dominate; even within their command the ancient leffs are confused.

178 616 It would nevertheless be inaccurate to hold that the ancient notion of the leff has entirely disappeared from the very minds of the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs. On the contrary, they continue it in

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
174 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
[571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
[616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to one and another of the different situations depending on origin and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature of the organization of personal power in this country, the one which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the cities.

*631 It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
*634 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
578 acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
•726 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
175 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ʿAli of Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

/361 cont./

*631 *634 578 *726 175 until the Krupp cannon permitted opening a breach in the walls of his casbah. We have seen in the same way that Si ᶜOmar Seksawi would not have triumphed in his little domain except by having the kaid Chtittihi assassinated and by constructing in the middle of his lands, on the site /362/ of the razed villages, a command fortress.

*631 *634 174 171 These features suffice to show us how the power of the amghars and of the kaids of the Atlas is distinguished from that of the feudal lords of the West. The resemblances, when they exist, hardly concern anything but the life of the chief himself; the institutions that in our Middle Ages bind the lord to his king or subjects are almost entirely lacking here.

If, nevertheless, the political state of the south of Morocco, which is only a rough outline of our feudality, had to be compared with that of Europe before the formation of the great States, and more complete analogies sought, it is doubtless with the Ireland, the Scotland, and the Germany of the upper Middle Ages, perhaps with Corsica, Sardinia, Albania up to the modern period, that it would be necessary to try to multiply the comparisons. The primitive institutions of tribes, the alliances of families and cantons, the oligarchic constitutions of the small republics existed there for a long time on the confines of the Roman Empire, as in our day in Berbérie /Barbary/: chiefs were born there, whose authority was very weak originally, who could not grow without fighting against the assemblies. Comparisons that it is not appropriate for us to make between these various regions could perhaps show that primitive societies separated across time and space are nevertheless, in the course of their transformations, guided by the same principles, and that laws stronger than men, most often unknown to them, lead their acts into the same paths.

*631 XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs. -- Let us not be surprised that the Berbère /Berber/ chief whose family, thanks to favorable circumstances, has succeeded so rapidly in dominating all the tribes that the eyes can embrace from a summit of the Atlas is, in spite of his apparent strength, threatened by redoubtable perils.

/389 cont./

178 *631 •726 648 The Berbère /Berber/ republics purchase this right to enter into a large state by still other sacrifices. In former times the internal wars, through the play of balanced alliances, engaged only hundreds of warriors armed with bad guns on the frontiers of these small cantons; henceforth, having come to the border of subjugated country, the tribe stands the shock of considerable masses of combatants, Arabs from the "gich" of the plains in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Berbères /Berbers/ enslaved by entire confederations, innumerable contingents of the great kaids. When these harkas penetrate into the territory, no resistance is possible; in a few hours all the villages, the secular agadirs themselves are destroyed. Now entered on the list of the "naiba" tribes, the little state whose life formerly flowed on in a mountain cirque also participates in distant expeditions. The warriors will go tomorrow to re-establish a kaid in the Dra or to [177] fight a rogui /one who aspires to overthrow the sultan/ north of Fès; during these travels they will learn of laws other than the ones of their village and will come back impressed by Arab influences, city habits unknown up to then.

177 648 671 But above all, conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/ sanctions the definitive ruin of the "ᶜorf," the Berbère /Berber/ law. For long centuries custom was tractable in order to become conformable with the essential rules of the religious law. In this country, which has seen so many reformers of Islam, scholars, and jurists [179] arise, a slow penetration of the principles of the "chraᶜ" /sharᶜ, Sharia, Islamic law/ continued imperceptibly in order to eliminate, in the tribal law, the arrangements opposed to those of the holy book (1).

1. One would scarcely find -- except in what concerns the "rehania" -- the antichresis -- a few rules opposed to the chraᶜ /sharᶜ/ in the collections of customary law of the tribes of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

Soon the "ᶜorf" comes to be limited to the repression of crimes

/395 cont./

105 *631 II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- The conditions under which the power of the chiefs of the Atlas is formed in our time is explained, as we have said, by simple laws; it will suffice for us, /396/ in order to bring them to light, to recall briefly the various stages of their conquest of the tribes.

105 *631 *634 616 At the beginning of the last century, several hundred little republics, united among themselves by two chains of alliances, make up an immense chessboard that covers the greater part of the mountains and thus delimits the region in which the long game, whose stake is the liberty of the Berbères /Berbers/, is going to begin between the assemblies, the amghars, and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

105 *634 578 613 At the outset, in the small canton where equilibrium is realized among the heads of all the large families, of all the "ikhs" that share the benefits of the local government, several ambitious ones appear, who think that their greater strength merits them a larger part of the profits; soon two parties form and confront each other; the winner takes the title of "amghar" and replaces the oligarchy of family heads by the tyranny of a single one.

105 *634 182 619 726 In this minuscule territory of a small tribal fraction, in this "taqbilt" where the domination of one "ikhs" over the others is thus established, the new chief feels the urgent necessity of maintaining the union that he has realized for a moment by internal force by reviving external wars. Thanks to the ancient alliances concluded between the small republics of the country, he easily manages to extend his influence afar, and soon he undertakes to subject a veritable tribe to his will. If he succeeds in defeating [616] the chief of the opposite alliance, he places the enemy "taqbilt" under the yoke of his leff, and with the support of his canton of origin he organizes, in various forms, the exploitation of a tribe by a canton.

105 *634 619 *631 726 If fortune continues to favor the victorious amghar, one then sees him try to subjugate, with the help of contingents that he has raised in the tribe of which he has become the uncontested master, extensive territories in the plains; entire confederations pay tax to

105 /396 cont./
*634 him: he establishes himself on the mountain routes of passage,
619 builds fortresses there of which his ikhs or village "brothers" are
*63 the guardians; his canton "brothers" stay around him permanently
•726 in order to constitute his escort; the warriors that he sends afar to subdue rebels are his tribal "brothers."

105 It is when he has reached this degree of power that the
*631 amghar effortlessly takes a place with the Sultan's kaids. Doubt-
*634 less, he /397/ is not yet confused in the ranks of the servile chiefs
648 of tribes of the plains; he preserves the pride of his power, the ar-
182 rogance of having been able to constitute with his own forces the vast command that he exercises. Let even a period of anarchy come, he will free himself as much as possible from the orders of the pashas of the neighboring capital; by his inclinations and his ambitions, the mountain lord finds himself henceforth carried along in the current of the politics of the Makhzen /makhzan/; his attention more and more turns away from the obscure mountain traditions; his eyes are more often cast toward the court of the Sultan or of the pretenders; he burns with the desire to play, close to them, by means of disturbances, the more brilliant and still more profitable role of vizier or governor of towns.

In truth, it is not only at the end of this evolution that the role of the Makhzen appears in the tribes. Indeed, the Sultan, from the depths of his palaces in towns far from the mountains, promotes and encourages at all times, to the border of the regions where his authority is directly exercised, the appearance and the growth of amghars. Under the influence of skillful politics, a tendency hostile to the anarchic government of the assemblies forces its way through in the still-independent communities. The great kaids themselves imitate the ruler, and little by little, in proportion as the pressure of the Makhzen is accentuated or as the powerful chiefs of the Atlas become more enterprising, revolutions become more numerous within the republics of the high valleys, to the profit of the ambitious; on the contrary, however, if anarchy breaks out in the Empire, the casbahs are thrown to the ground and their masters put to flight; the strongest chiefs shut themselves up with all haste in their impregnable agadirs, the "Aït Arbaᶜin" resume their meetings; liberty and discord succeed servitude.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

zen to such a competitive political system (Adams, 1953, p. 33; Coon, 1931, pp. 105-108; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 306-307; Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 182-216; Murdock, 1956, pp. 142-143; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 49-52; see also Berque, 1955, pp. 424-439, for a critique of the *leff* theory).

Just as the *tada* alliance between extended groups represents an extension of the *tagmat* or "brotherhood" alliance between individuals and families, so the *leff* alliance represents a still further extension of fictional brotherhood between extended groups. This is clearly illustrated among the Ait Atta (465-491), where the pact of *tafergant* ("interdiction"), renewed annually, is marked by a "ceremony of milk" symbolizing the fiction of a common mother, and involves a prohibition upon the men to marry, or even to "look" upon, the women of the opposite group. Among the Shluh the *leff* alliance is renewed or revitalized annually by great festivals and "rounds of hospitality" (*tinoubga*), in which the ties of brotherhood between the *leff* members are reemphasized, and in the course of which many private associations, family alliances, and marriages are also contracted (Berque, 1955, pp. 425-426; Montagne, 1930, pp. 187-191; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 50-51).

Among the Shluh of the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas the political importance of the *leff* units was very great in pre-Protectorate times, the balance of power between the two divisions usually acting as a strong restraint against agressive action. If a Shluh district was, in fact, attacked by another, the defenders despatched messengers to the border of their *leff* allies to fire gunshot signals, a few hours after which the forces of the victimized *leff* began to pour across the border to give battle to the aggressor. In such a case the *leff* allies of the aggressor generally did not also intervene, but if they did, as frequently happened in the Tiznit area, the outcome was a general war throughout the area of the *leff* structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 187, 202-203).

c. *Intervention*

Although but a single *leff* structure existed in northern Morocco during the early 20th century, the importance of this system varied greatly within this region, being strongest in the western Jebala and